

NIGEL DE LONGCHAMPS SPECULUM STULTORUM

Edited, with an Introduction
and Notes, by

John H. Mozley

and

Robert R. Raymo



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES • 1960

820.8
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NIGEL DE LONGCHAMPS
SPECULUM STULTORUM

Liber qui intitulatur Ru-
nellus in speculo stultorum
Narratio Salicini de bruneta et bicorni
Narratio de gallo et querimonis galline
Runellus pueritit se ad singulos status hoim



Title page of the Cologne edition (1499) of the
Speculum Stultorum

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS

ENGLISH STUDIES: 18

EDITORS (LOS ANGELES): A. E. LONGUEIL, V. A. DEARING, R. S. KINSMAN, J. F. ROSS

Submitted by editors January 20, 1958

Issued March 28, 1960


Price, \$4.00

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES
CALIFORNIA

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, ENGLAND

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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PREFACE

Medieval scholars have long felt the need for an annotated edition of the Speculum Stultorum based upon the manuscript tradition as a whole. The version of the text which Thomas Wright incorporated into his edition of the Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century was scarcely an improvement over its sixteenth- and seventeenth-century predecessors. His recension was founded upon a grossly inadequate manuscript collation. Of the forty extant codices of the Speculum Stultorum—the best and almost half of them in the British Isles—he used only three, and of these he chose the worst for his basic text. Moreover, his recension contained numerous erroneous readings that were in some instances the products of his own invention.

In the preparation of the present edition, my colleague, J. H. Mozley, emeritus Reader of Latin in the University of London, has performed the task of establishing the text and discussing its transmission. I have contributed the biographical, literary, and historical commentary in the introduction, notes, and Appendix A. The description of the manuscripts has been a joint endeavor, Mr. Mozley being responsible for the account of the Continental manuscripts and I for the account of the British manuscripts.

Our labors were greatly facilitated by the generous assistance and advice of Professor André Boutemy, Professor Bruce Dickins, Professor Wayland Hand, Reverend Professor David Knowles, Professor Alfred Longueil, Professor Roger Mynors, Professor Blake Nevius, Professor John Ross, Professor Otto Skutsch, Dr. F. W. Brittain, Dr. F. J. E. Raby, Mr. W. B. Sedgwick, and Mr. William Urry. To them as well as to all the keepers of manuscripts and rare books who have kindly given access to their collections or provided photostats and transcripts, we wish to express our warm gratitude. Finally, I am pleased to acknowledge my personal indebtedness to the United States Educational Commission and to President R. G. Sproul of the University of California for the award of fellowships to aid in the pursuance and completion of these researches.

Robert R. Raymo

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INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

Little is known of the life of Nigel. He was born about 1130, probably at Longchamps in Normandy.¹ His father, Gilbert, was a member of the de Sarneis family who settled in Canterbury during the first half of the twelfth century. The family appears to have been prosperous and of some standing in the community. The name suggests that the family originally came from Guernsey.² No information is available about Nigel's early career apart from the fact that he visited Normandy and Paris.³ By 1170, he had joined the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, where he remained as monk, priest, and, possibly, precentor, until his death in the early thirteenth century.⁴

All but one of Nigel's extant compositions are in verse. In addition to the Speculum Stultorum, they include a hexametric list of the archbishops of Canterbury to 1184, a collection of seventeen Mary-legends entitled Miracula Sanctae Dei Genetris Virginis Mariae, a Passio Pauli Primi Heremitae, a Passio Sanctae Laurentii, and a miscellany of short moral and elegiac pieces.⁵ The only surviving prose composition is the Tractatus Contra Curiales et Officiales Clericos, a long complaint against the English clergy for its neglect of sacred for secular callings.⁶ Leland and Bale also ascribe to him two lost theological treatises, the Excerptiones de Universo Gregoriano super Moralia Job and the Liber Distinctionum super Novum et Vetus Testamentum.⁷

Nigel was not a man of profound learning, but he was well versed in the Bible, in the ancient authors, especially Ovid, Vergil, Juvenal, and Persius, in many of the Latin Fathers, and in the moralistic and hagiographic literature of the Middle Ages. His knowledge of contemporary satire was considerable. He wrote good Latin, distinguished by its lucidity, vigor, and ease. All his works reflect his unswerving devotion to the welfare of the Church and to the principles of monastic life. He was deeply disturbed by the growing moral secularization of the clergy and constantly inveighed against it, courageously singling out for his severest castigations two of the most powerful ecclesiastics of his day, Gilbert Foliot and his own patron, William de Longchamps.⁸ Like John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, and other literary humanists, he denounced the new dialectical and scientific learning emanating from the nascent universities.⁹ Above all, he repeatedly protested against the encroachments of royal and episcopal authority upon the ancestral privileges of monastic bodies.¹⁰ The expulsion in 1191 of the monks from Coventry Cathedral and their replacement by secular canons particularly horrified him, an eyewitness to the event, and he aired his indignation with characteristic fervor in the Tractatus:

Horrendi facinoris detestanda crudelitas quae in Coventrensi ecclesia nuper facta est nonne provenit ab occidente usque in orientem? Ubinam terrarum commissum est tam enorme flagitium? Mitius egissent pagani cum Christianis, si in manus eorum incidissent, quam egit episcopus cum monachis. Testis mihi Deus est quod dolens et tristis admodum refero quod in ecclesia Coventrensi oculis propriis aspexi. In claustro et capitulo, quae loca contemplationi et confessioni specialiter deputata fuerant, vidi ego et alii nonnulli, ejectis monachis, meretrices publicae introduci et tota nocte cum lenonibus decubare, sicut in lupanari. O mira patientia Dei, quae non statim percutit, sed adhuc impios in impietate sua prosperari permittit. . . . Haec sunt igitur opera episcoporum nostri temporis. Haec sunt quae faciunt aut impune fieri permittunt. Haec sunt virtutum exempla quae posteris relinquunt, ut sit memoria eorum in maledictione.¹¹

Nigel is always of interest and importance for the light he throws on the state of the contemporary Church. But his fame rests rather on the Speculum Stultorum, a satirical animal allegory of great charm and originality, which, in the estimation of Professor E. K. Rand, has earned him a place with "Aristophanes, Horace and Ovid, Rabelais and Erasmus, Fielding and Thackeray at a banquet of the wits."¹²

THE POEM

Theme

The Speculum Stultorum was composed between November, 1179, and March, 1180, and dedicated to William de Longchamps.¹³ It falls into two distinct parts somewhat unskillfully joined together. The first part is an account of an ass's futile efforts to procure a longer tail, acquire a university education, and, finally, found a religious order. The second part describes his master's rescue of three wild animals and a rich man from a deep pit. The beasts show their gratitude with appropriate gifts, but the rich man, who had promised while in distress to share his wealth with his rescuer, refuses to honor his word until the king compels him. Three illustrative anecdotes are woven into the account of the ass's adventures. The first tells of two cows whose tails were embedded in the earth by a frost. One prudently waits for the thaw, the other rashly cuts off her tail, thereby leaving herself exposed to the attacks of flies, which eventually bite her to death. The second concerns a

priest's son who is brought to ruin by a revengeful cock he had once injured. The third is about three fates who, after rejecting the claims of persons of higher birth, bestow their favors upon a humble peasant girl.

The allegory of the Speculum Stultorum is explained in a letter that Nigel wrote to William de Longchamps soon after its publication; possibly in 1180.¹⁴ According to this epistle, the ass represents a monk or any man in religion who is ambitious for an abbotship or a priorate "which he might proudly trail behind him like a tail."¹⁵ In his desire for advancement, he passes many unprofitable years in education acquiring a superficial veneer of learning with which to impress and deceive his brethren.¹⁶ When his intellectual charlatanism is unmasked and he loses all hope of preferment, he aspires without success to a religious life devoid of physical hardship and privation.¹⁷ The ass's career with its succession of failures ending in disgrace and disappointment is intended to demonstrate the folly of vain pretension and to serve as a warning to the regular clergy.¹⁸ Its moral is drawn in the epilogue of the Speculum Stultorum itself:

Nam sunt nonnulli transcendere magna volentes,
Et nituntur ad hoc nocte dieque simul.
Qui dum magna petunt et semper ad ardua tendunt,
Saepe repente ruunt saepeque deficient.
Contra naturam vel sortem quaerere quicquam
Nemo potest illud reddere vel facere;
Burnello teste, qui, dum quaesivit inepta,
Semper remansit quod prius ipse fuit.¹⁹

"Happy is the man," Nigel pointedly adds, "who learns caution from another's calamity and is governed by reason."²⁰

The three inner narratives also have their special significance for the regular clergy. The cows illustrate the manner in which monks react to the rigors of religion. Some, always conscious of the hereafter, endure them for the sake of their eternal salvation; others, however, precipitously return to the world where they are overcome by the agents of the devil.²¹ The degradation of the priest's son typifies the grave evil perpetrated by monks who, like the cock, cannot forget the smallest injury until they are avenged,²² and the three fates demonstrate by their conduct the many anomalies in religion.²³

Sources

The greater part of the Speculum Stultorum appears to be the product of Nigel's own invention. His choice of a central character was influenced by Avianus' fable of The Ass and the

Lion's Skin, which contemporary Latin satirists often recalled in their attacks upon ambitious ecclesiastics.²⁴ Nigel alludes to the tale in his preface, expounding at length on its moral.²⁵ The ass's scheme to found a religious order may have been suggested by Nivard of Ghent's Ysengrimus, a mid-twelfth-century beast-epic about a wolf who, after becoming a monk of Blandigny, is discovered in a wine cellar drunkenly talking of a new monastic reform.²⁶

The sources of two of the three exempla can be more definitely established. The adventures of the cows is a version of the tail-fisher story long a part of folk tradition of Northern Europe, where it originally arose as an etiological explanation of the bear's stumpy tail. According to the myth, the bear fished through the ice with his tail until he lost it when forced to retreat hastily from a band of hostile farmers.²⁷ Moving westward, the story was often inappropriately transferred to the wolf and other animals.²⁸ The manner of the cow's death in Nigel was probably derived from the Ecbasis Captivi, an anonymous eleventh-century beast-epic, in which a wolf in a nightmare sees himself attacked by gadflies, wasps, and other insects until he is helpless.²⁹

The legend of the three fates is virtually that of the Scandinavian Norns. Although their main task was to dispose of the destinies of mankind and to deal out life and death, they also bestowed rewards and punishments, conferred fruitfulness, and, as in Nigel, gave riches and prosperity.³⁰ Curiously, they did not always speak with one mind, and one often negated the gifts of the other two.³¹ Saxo Grammaticus and Burchard of Worms made them sisters.³² Both these traditions are reflected in the Speculum Stultorum, where the fate called *domina* is able to overrule the wishes of her sisters.³³

No source or analogue can be found for the story of the revengeful cock, apart from the scene in which the priest's son oversleeps on the morning of his ordination after a night of drunken revelry. This would appear to be an elaboration of the opening lines of Persius' third satire, a sober exhortation to youth to put off its follies and wasted opportunities in favor of a life of serious purpose:

"Nempe haec adsidue? iam clarum mane fenestras
intrat et angustas extendit lumine rimas;
stertimus, indomitum quod despumare Falernum
sufficiat, quinta dum linea tangitur umbra.
en quid agis? siccas insana canicula messes
iam dudum coquit et patula pecus omne sub ulmo est"
unus ait comitum. . . .³⁴

The apologue on ingratitude comprising the second part of

the Speculum Stultorum is the tale of the ungrateful man and the grateful animals which originally appeared as an Oriental fable in the Pantchatantra.³⁵ It entered European literature for the first time through Nigel and Matthew Paris.³⁶ Both authors place the action in northern Italy, a fact suggesting that the tale itself had been localized there in the last half of the twelfth century. A peculiar feature of Nigel's version is the snake's gift of a self-returning magical jewel. For this he was probably indebted to Celtic tradition in which such objects are a commonplace of folktales and saint-legends.³⁷

Genre

Medieval Latin satire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries followed two main traditions, invective and burlesque. The most popular form of burlesque was the beast-epic that originated about 1050 with the Ecbasis Captivi, an anonymous fable of a calf (per tropologiam, a monk) who flees from his stall and is captured by a wolf. After a harrowing night in the wolf's cave, the calf is rescued and his assailant captured and hanged. Nearly a century later, in 1148, the Ecbasis Captivi inspired Nivard of Ghent to compose the Ysengrimus, a collection of fables in seven books centering in the adventures of a wolf, who throughout the poem represents a monk, and his wily opponent, the fox. The wolf is invariably outwitted by the fox and finally comes to a violent end. Both works are characterized by a wide variety of incidents, characters, themes, and settings. Their successor, the Speculum Stultorum, shows the same deliberate diversity. Its main and subsidiary narratives involve twenty characters in a dozen different situations and settings throughout Italy and France. Within the framework of the beast-epic appear several minor literary forms—the exemplum, the homily, the bird-parliament, the debate, and the complaint—together with an unusual number of the rhetorical topics that form so large a part of the medieval author's stock in trade. Nigel reflects on the relative merits of wine and water, the caprice of fortune, the decay of nature, the foibles of old age, the omnipotence of money, the reliability of omens and dreams, and the qualities of nobility. Proverbs and animal lore abound in the poem; so, too, do mythological allusions and classical quotations. The spirit of the satire varies as widely as its subject matter. Nigel's method is frequently to intermingle raillery and derision, judgement and sympathy, earnestness and playfulness. This technique is conspicuous in his censure of the Cistercians—as much space is devoted to their overweening avarice as to a whimsical consideration of their rejection of breeches.³⁸ Nigel may owe something here to Nivard of Ghent, but his tone is generally more humorous and light-hearted than his predecessor's. Comedy is

an essential constituent of his satirical design. "The criticism of the religious orders is couched in comedy," he wrote to William de Longchamps, "for heavy sarcasm and violent abuse would be of no avail where they are concerned. In any case, there are many diseases which yield more readily to unguents than to caustic." He is a master of parody and often employs it in whimsical imitations of medical recipes, ecclesiastical anathemas, religious blessings, hymns, Dies Irae themes, the language of ecclesiastical pronouncements, and the jargon of logicians. Puns, equivocation, and irony fill the pages of his text. But his greatest skill is in the use of farce, shown to its best advantage in the scenes at the University of Paris and in the tale of the revengeful cock. Dr. Raby's description of the poem as a "true satire in the Roman sense, that is to say a farrago, a mixture,"⁴⁰ is as well justified by the variety of manners as by the variety of matters.

Two forms of invective created by Anglo-Latin satirists of the twelfth century are contained in the poem, the Review of the Religious Orders and the Satira Communis, or General Satire. The Review is a peculiar medley of sane description and sly depreciation, authentic fact and casual gossip, open praise and furtive innuendo. Nigel carefully follows its conventions, combining familiar and laudatory details of the dress, diet, and economy of the monks with cunning insinuations of moral laxity. Thus the Gilbertine Order is spoken of with respect save for an artful reference to the possible intercourse between the monks and nuns.⁴¹ The Premonstratensians and Grandmontines live simple and rigorous lives. Yet do not the former pursue a somewhat hypocritical policy in forbidding the consumption of meat, but allowing the consumption of fats bordering on meat?⁴² And how do the latter, supposedly foreswearing all property, manage to support themselves? Do their possessions, as manna, rain down from heaven?⁴³ The Cistercians eat meat, but they remove the evidence. The bones are buried, lest, like the head of St. Edmund, they exclaim to passers-by "Here, Here."⁴⁴ The Review of the Religious Orders differed remarkably little in style and subject matter among its practitioners. Most of the charges brought by Nigel against the monks and the details he offers of their lives are also found in the works of Walter Map, John of Salisbury, and Gerald of Wales.⁴⁵

The Satira Communis, or General Satire, is a comprehensive criticism of all classes of the community, both lay and ecclesiastical.⁴⁶ The ills of society begin at the head—the kings and the bishops—and inevitably extend to the other limbs—the nobles, the priests, and the peasants. Kings are guilty of cruelty, bishops of luxury, nobles of idleness and lechery, priests of infidelity, and peasants of viciousness. All are afflicted with a greed for gain which sets justice and piety at a distance. These are

the traditional themes of the *Satira Communis*, and Nigel expands upon them all, but in such general terms as to indicate that he is merely developing a literary topic.⁴⁷

Style, Versification, and Language

The *Speculum Stultorum* is written in a simple and straightforward style with few rhetorical embellishments. The only figures of speech recurring with frequency are anaphora and amplification, which, though they are employed with considerable subtlety and variety, tend to impede the otherwise brisk movement of the narrative. Long sentences are avoided. Nigel's constructions seldom extend beyond the couplet and usually follow natural word order. Like the classical elegists, however, he often postpones such nonenclitic conjunctions as *at*, *atque*, *aut*, *namque*, *nec*, and *sed*, which normally stand first in the sentence, to second and third place. On the other hand, he rarely resorts to tmesis or indulges in such provoking hyperbatons as:

1507 Ossa, cutem, nervos, quae vel labor aut via longa
Quassarat, refovent balnea, cura, quies.

The verse moves easily and with a measure of grace. Nigel shows a strong preference for the dactylic opening and for the combinations DDSS, DSSD, DDS D, and DSSS in the hexameter and DD and DS in the pentameter. His prosody is on the whole sound despite such peculiarities as *cūcūlus* (516), *āēnea* (1609), *pūpillorum* (1761), *trūtannum* (1929), *ecclēsiae* (2336), *hūpocrisi* (2434), *pāedagogus* (2773), *rētrō* (3389), and *ēclipsim* (1707). He regularly lengthens a short syllable at the strong caesura of the hexameter and pentameter, and shortens the long final syllable of the gerund when it is employed for the present participle. Penthemimeral rhyme occasionally occurs in the pentameter between an adjective and a substantive in agreement.

Nigel's language, although it is generally correct and classical, displays some characteristic features of Late and Ecclesiastical Latin. Numerous medieval Latin words are introduced into the text, such as *confessor* (3002), *trottare* (2061), *conversi* (979), and *lectio* (1439): together with Greek words provided with either Greek or Latin terminations, such as *melos* (2412), *apocopare* (86), *cauteriare* (1719), *antiphrasis* (1616), and *thymia* (521); poetical words or terms of the twelfth century, such as *diaeta*, "a day's journey" (717), *mino*, "lead" (1055), and *locus unde*, "reason" (2516); and English words, such as *drinkheil* (1521), *her* (2136), and *washeil* (1521). Some words are given strange or unusual meanings, e.g., *novitas*, "inexperience" (3), *menstruus*, "uncertain" (2314), *omen*, "condition" (3418). A few morphological irregularities occur. *Odi* is con-

jugated as if it were odire. Effranger (444) appears for effring am, oester (373) for oestrus, vespes (532) for vespae. In his syntax, Nigel manifests the usual tendency of medieval Latinists to substitute analytical for synthetical forms. Thus the use of Direct Discourse is more common in him than in Classical Latin poetry, while in Indirect Discourse the Classical accusative with infinitive construction is generally replaced by the conjunctions, quod, quia, or quoniam, followed by the indicative. Other departures from the Classical norm consist of irregularities in the employment of cases, the loss of temporal exactitude in the tenses of the verb, the extended use of infinitives, especially to express purpose, and the greater substantival use of adjectives and participles.⁴⁸

Popularity

From the outset, the Speculum Stultorum provided medieval authors with a storehouse of memorable axioms, useful phrases, and illustrative anecdotes. Gerald of Wales, Odo of Cheriton, Eberhard of Béthune, and Albert of Stade all drew sentences from the satire.⁴⁹ An echo of Nigel's invective against the Roman Curia sounded in Boccaccio's Decameron.⁵⁰ Chaucer worked a passage from the Speculum Stultorum into The Parlement of Foules and used the story of the revengeful cock as an exemplum in The Nonnes Preestes Tale.⁵¹ Nearly one hundred lines of Nigel were borrowed by John Gower for his Vox Clamantis, Mirour de l'Omme, and Confessio Amantis.⁵² Two attempts were made to imitate portions of the Speculum Stultorum. In the fourteenth century, an anonymous Latin author introduced into it a long interpolation extending the satirical review of the religious orders to include the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Augustinians, and the Carmelites.⁵³ An early fifteenth-century German macaronic poet wrote a fable about an ass who ran away from his master in order to enter a school. Like the ass in the Speculum Stultorum, he suffered a series of reverses, and was finally caught and led back into captivity.⁵⁴ About 1515, John Asloan transcribed into lowland Scotch a version of the story of the revengeful cock, changing its setting from Apulia to Kent.⁵⁵

The popularity of the Speculum Stultorum reached its height during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. All but one of the forty extant manuscripts belong to this period, while other copies, now lost, are mentioned in contemporary catalogues of monastic libraries.⁵⁶ After the fifteenth century, its vogue steadily declined. Against the four editions of the poem published between 1474 and 1479, only one was published in the sixteenth century, at Paris in 1506, and three in the seventeenth century, at Frankfurt and Wolfenbüttel in 1602, 1605, and 1662.⁵⁷ But

these latter publications were undoubtedly due to an interest in the poem less as a literary than as a social document exposing the corruption of the medieval clergy, and by 1679 its author had become in the hands of his first biographer, I. Weber, an early advocate of the Reformation.⁵⁸

THE TEXT

Manuscripts⁵⁹

A (British Museum, London, MS. Harleian 2422). A parchment manuscript containing only the letter to William de Longchamps and the Speculum Stultorum, which ends at 3542 on the last folio, 81b. There are usually twenty-four ruled lines to the page, but occasionally only twenty-two. All capitals and the initial letters of each line are colored in red. Rubricated headings and filiations often in the shape of human profiles and pointing figures occur in the margin. The signature of Will[el]mus Okely appears on f. 1, the old outside wrapper of the book, in a fifteenth-century hand.

B (British Museum, London, MS. Arundel 23). A parchment manuscript of the late fifteenth century in a fine Italian renaissance hand containing the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 1-66), which ends imperfectly at 3862, a selection of Nigel's other works, a life of St. Eustace, and Herbert of Bosham's Catalogus Eruditi beati Thomae. There are twenty-seven lines to the page. The initials of the paragraphs are colored in blue. In the section of the poem dealing with the review of the religious orders, marginal headings are in red. The name of a former owner, Thomas Jakes, appears on f. 67b in a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand.

C (British Museum, London, MS. Cotton Titus A 20). A parchment manuscript of the fourteenth century containing a miscellany of Latin verse. The Speculum Stultorum (ff. 4-50) is written in a single column of forty-three lines to the page. I am informed by Professor Mynors that William Camden formerly owned the volume. The presence in the manuscript of the poems of Robert Baston, Prior of Scarborough about 1310, and of two descriptive poems of Norfolk by an anonymous monk of Peterborough suggests that it originally came from a monastery near Peterborough or from Scarborough itself.

D (Trinity College Library, Dublin, MS. 440). A parchment manuscript of the mid-fifteenth century containing the letter to William and the Speculum Stultorum written in single columns of between twenty-seven and thirty-three lines to the page. Its medieval owner was Peter Lee, a monk of Durham, who was a student at Oxford in 1511, Bursar of Durham College there in 1514, and Prior of the College in 1523. Later it passed into the

possession of Archbishop Ussher whose signature appears on the flyleaf.

E (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. S.C. 2353). A paper manuscript in Latin and French containing an incomplete version of the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 160-180) written in double columns of thirty-five lines to the page, Peter of Spain's Thesaurus Pauperum, Geoffrey Baker's Chronicon, and various medical treatises. The manuscript was probably compiled between 1360 and 1370 for Thomas of Walmesford and owned by the family physician of the Bohuns.

e (Bibliothèque de Ste.-Geneviève, Paris, MS. 3196). A paper manuscript of the late fifteenth century written in single columns of twenty-three lines to the page. It contains an anthology of Latin verse, which includes Nigel's description of Spring, 503-536, on f. 13b.

F (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. S.C. 3041). A composition of two parchment manuscripts compiled in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century and containing an incomplete version of the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 97-115) written in double columns of forty-one to forty-two lines to the page, Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium and other poems attributed to him, John of Bridlington's Propheta, and the De Babione. The manuscript originally came from Ramsey and was owned by John Wilk, the opponent of Wycliffe.

G (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Digby 27). A parchment manuscript of the fourteenth century containing only the letter to William and the Speculum Stultorum, which ends imperfectly at 2746 on f. 67. The poem is written in single columns of between twenty-two and twenty-seven lines to the page, with colored initials partly in red and partly in blue.

H (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. S.C. 2159). A composition of two paper manuscripts of the mid-fifteenth century containing the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 146-192), Walter the Englishman's Fabulae, various Latin hymns and Goliardica, and excerpts from William of Chartham's Speculum Parvulorum and Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Poetria Nova. The Speculum Stultorum that, like the Digby manuscript, ends imperfectly at 2746, is written in single columns of forty-two to forty-six lines to the page. The scribe and former owner of the manuscript was Thomas Graunt.

h (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. S.C. 3852). A paper manuscript written by Richard James between 1620 and 1630 and containing the letter to William, the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 4-73), and a selection of Goliardica.

I (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. S.C. 2583). A parchment manuscript of the fifteenth century containing only the prose letter to William and the Speculum Stultorum, which ends imperfectly at 3448 on the last folio, 36b. The poem is written in

single columns of between thirty-eight and forty-five lines to the page. A few capitals are colored in red. Paragraph headings are marginal and colored in red. An inscription of ownership at the end is unfortunately illegible.

J (All Souls College Library, Oxford, MS. 37). A parchment manuscript of the early fifteenth century containing the letter to William, the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 170-195), written in double columns of forty-one lines to the page, the Flores Historiarum, and St. Ambrose's Exameron.

K (British Museum, London, MS. Additional 38665). A parchment manuscript of the mid-fifteenth century containing the letter to William, the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 85-156), written in single columns of between thirty and thirty-three lines to the page, a chronicle of the general chapters of the Augustinian Canons held at Northampton, 1325-1350, Aesopic fables, and various Latin hymns and verses on Augustine. The initials, capitals, and paragraph headings of the Speculum Stultorum are colored in red. In the margins are sketches of monks' and asses' heads. The manuscript is mostly in the hand of John Strech and originally came from Kenilworth.

k (Herzogliche Bibliothek, Gotha, MS. B 517). A paper manuscript of the fifteenth century. The Speculum Stultorum (ff. 136-195) is written in single columns of between twenty and twenty-four lines to the page and belongs to the class of those manuscripts that end at 2602.

L (Lambeth Library, London, MS. 357). A parchment manuscript of the fifteenth century coming from Denelek, the Irish cell to Lanthony, as is seen from the presence in it of the Office of St. Kenan. It also contains an incomplete version of the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 78-109), Richard Rolle's Super septem lectiones mortuorum, excerpts from St. Bernard and Hugh of St. Victor, and various Augustinian documents. The Speculum Stultorum is written in single columns of between thirty-seven and forty-one lines to the page. The initials are colored in red, as are the marginal and interlinear headings.

l (Stadtsbibliothek, Munich, MS. 14129). A paper manuscript of the fifteenth century on ff. 288-298 of which there is a florilegium consisting of a brief resumé of the events of the Speculum Stultorum, omitting digressions and incidental anecdotes, followed by a number of short extracts with various headings, such as item de medicis (103-106), item de uitacione mali (1715-1716), and item de miserabili statu curie romane (2491-2814), the longest extract. All the text seems to have been known, though there are no extracts from 2872 to 3483.

M (Cathedral Library, Lincoln, MS. 105). A parchment manuscript of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century containing the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 97-107), written in double columns of between thirty to fifty lines to the page, Guido of Colonna's

Historia Troiae, and the De Babione. The manuscript originally belonged to the chantry of Nicholas de Cantilupe.

m (Stadtsbibliothek, Munich, MS. 2380). A paper manuscript dated 1462. The Speculum Stultorum (ff. 243-382) is written in single columns of between thirty-four to thirty-six lines to a page. It has no main title.

N (Cathedral Library, Lincoln, MS. 191). A parchment manuscript of the fifteenth century containing the letter to William, the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 228-255), written in double columns of forty-one lines to the page, Thomas of Hibernia's Manipulus Florum, and St. Bernard's De Consideratione.

n (Stadtsbibliothek, Munich, MS. 237). A paper manuscript containing works of poetry and rhetoric copied in 1460 by Hartmann Schedel, physician and historian, while a student at the University of Leipzig. On ff. 218-220b we have an extract from our poem comprising 2051 to 2484, primarily the satire on the religious orders. There are two columns to the page, each of thirty-eight or thirty-nine lines.

O (Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MS. 3156). A paper manuscript of the fifteenth century containing the Speculum Stultorum on ff. 34-93 in single columns of about thirty lines to the page. The text was negligently copied and is full of corrections, chiefly by a reviser. There are a number of glosses. After 3760 the scribe has passed from 3822 to 3849 inclusive, but omitting 3826-3827, then at the top of f. 92 returning to 3761 and resuming with 3850 at the top of f. 93. Various signs and notes warn the reader, e.g., in the margin of f. 91b: "quod murmur populi [i.e., 3761] debetur hic stare et grauter erratum est in scribendo quia integrum folium sequens debet hic interseri." We may conclude that 61 lines was the length of the folio, column, or page passed over.

o (Stadtsbibliothek, Munich, MS. 14529). A paper manuscript similar in its contents to 237 and also written by a Leipzig student, one John Tegernpeck, a monk, in 1466. There are two short extracts from the Speculum Stultorum, "Querela Burnelli," f. 160, lines 2471-2482, and the second on ff. 160-166, "Burnellus de diversis ordinibus," the passage on the Orders.

P (Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MS. 180). A paper manuscript written in double columns of fifty-nine or sixty lines each. The text of the Speculum Stultorum extends from f. 122b to 138b, but between f. 122 and f. 123 there is a lacuna from 55 to 66 inclusive; the story of the two cows appears on ff. 136-137, while f. 138 reproduces f. 132. These odd disarrangements may be accounted for by supposing that the 612 lines were missing from the original of the manuscript and the story of the cows was copied in at the end from another manuscript, whereas f. 132 was at one time missing and replaced by f. 138, but subsequently reappeared. The date is shown by the following inscription: "Ex-

PLICIT Speculum Stultorum scriptum a Johanne Dalsche Presbytero anno Domini Mo IIIIoXVo crastino beati Sixti papae finitum."

p (Národní knihovna, Prague, MS. 469). A paper manuscript copied in 1397 and containing a miscellany of Latin works in prose and verse. On a leaf immediately preceding the first numbered folio, there are written on the recto 2546-2575, and on the verso 2576-2602 of the Speculum Stultorum, after which follows "explicit Brunelus domini Wenceslai dicti Skale Odelyz necho," the text thus belonging to the class of those that end at that line. Another explicit says that Skala was "vicarius Hermannii Canonici Ecclesiae Pragensis."

Q (Kønlige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, MS. S 1364). A paper manuscript, formerly in the Domus Sanctae Mariae at Bordes-holm and the Gottorp Library, containing the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 85-135) written in single columns of between thirty and thirty-five lines and a miscellany of other Latin verse, including the Asinarius and Rapularius. The manuscript was copied in 1470.

q (Národní knihovna, Prague, MS. 1888). A paper manuscript containing today ninety-six leaves, but formerly more, since at least three gatherings of twelve leaves have been torn out, and thus nothing survives except the letter to William and the first two lines of the verse. From a calculation of the length of the work that followed it (Geoffrey de Vinsauf's De Statu Curie Romane), it would seem that six gatherings would have been needed for the whole of the Speculum; we may conclude that the manuscript ended at 2062 (especially as the letter to William appears in the shortened form peculiar to this group of manuscripts).

R (Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome, MS. Reg. Lat. 1379). A paper manuscript of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century written in single columns of twenty-nine or thirty lines to the page. The Speculum Stultorum (ff. 1-66) is followed by the letter to William and the Elegia of Henry of Settimello. It has occasional marginal comments such as Yronice (2394) and Iocosum (2413).

S (Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MS. Lat. 16519). A parchment manuscript consisting of the Formula Novitiorum and the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 51-106). It belonged originally to the Abbey of St. Denis and was written in 1391 ("iste liber est de conventu sancti Dyonisii in Francia quem fecit scribi frater Reginaldus de Betencuria ad usum fratris Radulphi de Pratellis et ad beneplacitum domni abbatia. Anno Domini Mmo CCCmo nonagesimo primo"). The text is written in single columns of twenty-five lines in a regular and elegant bookhand; initial letters of pages are often decorated with caricatures and grotesques, especially the fat monk. Gatherings are of 8, and the end of each gathering bears the first words of the next; although these have often disappeared, they are visible on f. 106b, which ends with line 2522. However, it is doubtful whether the text proceeded further than 2602, since the manuscript clearly belongs to the class of those that stop at that point.

s (Musio Nazionale, Trent, MS. 3154). A paper manuscript of the fifteenth century written in double columns of forty-three lines; the Speculum Stultorum occupying ff. 220-223. The manuscript, originally from Salzburg, was given up to Italy in 1919.

T (Universitäts-Bibliothek, Breslau, MS. IV. Q. 126). A parchment manuscript of the late fifteenth century formerly belonging to the Corpus Christi community of the Knights of Malta in Breslau. The Speculum Stultorum (ff. 153-181) is written in single columns of forty-two lines to the page. Much of the margins and all the space between the lines are filled with glosses, for the most part merely synonyms of the words in the text and of no value for interpretation. The untidy handful of abbreviations and the ubiquitous glosses present a scene of utter confusion.

t (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS. 3283). A paper manuscript containing the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 10-70) written in single columns of nineteen lines to the page. A colophon gives the date as 1468. The text belongs to the group that ends at 2602.

U (British Museum, London, MS. Sloan 1831 B). A parchment manuscript of the fifteenth century containing the letter to William, the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 4-45) beginning at 1043 and ending at 3864, and the Apocalypsis Goliae. There are double columns of twenty-six lines to the page. Paragraph initials are illuminated.

u (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS. 3467). A paper manuscript of the fifteenth century containing the letter to William and the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 4-56) written in single columns of between twenty-three and twenty-seven lines to the page. The text belongs to the class of those that end at 2602.

V (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS. 3487). A paper manuscript of the late fourteenth century containing only the Speculum Stultorum, which ends at 2602 on the last folio, 44. It is written in single columns of thirty-two or thirty-three lines to the page. There is some disarrangement of the text: f. 12 (33-96) should go between ff. 4 and 5, 618 to 681 are missing; f. 21 (228-292) should go between ff. 6 and 7, 1177 to 1234 are missing. Though older perhaps than all existing manuscripts that stop at 2602, it cannot have been their original.

X (British Museum, London, MS. Cotton Vespasian E xii). A parchment manuscript of the early fifteenth century containing the letter to William, the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 10-77), written in single columns of thirty-two lines to the page, the Apocalypsis Goliae, a collection of moral and proverbial sentences, Seneca's De Beata Vita, and Petrarch's Fabula de Griselda in prose. In the text of the Speculum Stultorum the initials of paragraphs are colored in blue with red filiations. On f. 1b there is an autograph of John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln.

x (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS. 3529). A paper "Sammel-

handschrift" of the second quarter of the fifteenth century containing the letter to William, the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 3-74), written in single columns of between twenty-five and thirty-three lines to the page, travelers' descriptions of eastern lands and the holy places, extracts of prose works, and so forth. The verse is complete, the text showing a different character from those that end at 2602.

Y (August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, MS. 616). A parchment manuscript dated 1419. The Speculum Stultorum occupies ff. 93-137 and is written in single columns of thirty-seven lines to the page. Originally in Lübeck, and once owned by Matthew Flacius, it went from Wolfenbüttel to Helmstedt, where a university had been founded, then to Marburg, and then back to Wolfenbüttel. It has some lacunae, 1248-1502, 2401-2412, and 3233-3458.

y (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS. 4459). A paper "Sammelhandschrift" dated 1400. The Speculum Stultorum occupies ff. 2-26. After a very brief summary of the letter to William (a dozen words only), the text passes into a prose paraphrase of the verse, written continuously as prose.

Z (Universitäts-Bibliothek, Leipzig, MS. 1591). A paper manuscript of the fifteenth century containing only the Speculum Stultorum, which ends imperfectly at 3872 on the last folio, 66b. Some leaves were misplaced in the original, for between 822 and 1154 the lines in our manuscript run thus: 822, 936-992, 883-934, 823-882, 1103-1153, 1049-1102, 993-1048, 1154. What has happened is that the first and third leaves of two groups have changed places. Our manuscript has thirty-one lines per single column; its original clearly had twenty-five to thirty.

z (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS. 12531). A paper "Sammelhandschrift" of the early fifteenth century written in Olmütz and belonging to Wenzel von Iglau, notary. The manuscript comprises the letter to William, the Speculum Stultorum (ff. 88-133) which ends at 2602, Cato's Disticha, lines attributed to Augustus on Vergil's will, and others. In out text there are between twenty-seven and thirty-one lines to the page.

Printed Editions

1. Editio Princeps. Utrecht, by Nicolaus Ketelaer and Gerardus Leempt, about 1474.

2. Paris, by A. Caillant, formerly attributed to Gui Marchand, 1485 or 1490.

These two editions derive from R or from some manuscript closely akin to it but no longer extant; they agree with R and with no other known manuscript in the following readings: 36 cum sciat, after 104 the couplet cotidie fallunt . . . dant colla ruine, after 1708 the couplet abbatis tantum . . . pendere quisque uelit (this couplet was also known to the writer of the prose paraphrase

in y), 1553 semper AB repetit, 2034 eius in flore nouo, 2380 om. corde, 2706 suspecto, 2820 fratribus, 3080 sapit.

3. Leipzig, by Conrad Kachelofen, 1487 or 1495; attributed by Copinger (6585) to Matthew Brand.

4. Cologne, by Cornelis van Zierikzee, February 28, 1499; the date is printed and there are woodcuts (see front).

5, 6. Frankfurt, by G. Draud, 1602, 1605; published together with other pieces, such as the Praxis Jocandi, with the title "Ad Asinum altioribus ac doctoratui propemodum inhiantem Digressio lepidissima" (1602) and "De Asino asininos mores atque ingenium contra naturam exuere conante Asinina lepidissima tamen nec minus pungens narratio" (1605). This latter book bears as a main title "Prudentia Simplex et innoxie Jocosae."

These two Frankfurt editions and that of Leipzig agree with Y in omitting 3233-3258, but do not otherwise show much similarity to that manuscript. All four editions (3, 4, 5, and 6) bear a close relationship to the group hereafter designated c (STkmnotuVz), though they do not appear to be derived from any extant manuscript.

7. Wolfenbüttel, 1662. This edition has all the distinctive readings of R and of the Utrecht and Paris editions. The volume also contains the Pseudo-Ovidian De Vetula.

8. P. Leyser printed the first eighty lines of the poem, which he took from Y, in his Historia Poetarum Medii Aevi (Leipzig, 1721), pp. 754-755.

9. E. Martène and U. Durand printed the review of the religious orders, which they took from O and R, in their Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Amplissima Collectio, VI (Paris, 1729), 2-10.

10. London, by Thomas Wright for his edition of the Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century for the Rolls Series, I (London, 1872), 11-145. The A, B, C of Wright's edition are the A, B, C of the present edition, and his P must be either the Utrecht or Paris edition.

Analysis of Manuscript Readings

The following manuscripts, of which I have either full or fairly considerable collations, conform in a number of errors either without exception or with sufficient unanimity to warrant descent from a common archetype; apart from these errors they fall into two main classes that I call respectively a (ACJMNDKOP) and b (EFLSBH). The errors are: 236, 770 anxius (acrius), 491-492 cauda nocet . . . sequi (couplet misplaced and probably spurious; not found in Y), 525 pulices (culices), 863 in (et), 1194 coget senior (transpose), 1598 uenerunt (neue runt), 2117 lac et lana (lac lanamque), 2475 doloris (dolorum O dolores), 2502 inopis (inopi), 2583-2584 couplet misplaced in

quorum manibus . . . referta solet (in manuscripts follows 2644),
 2611 secum (uocem), 2802 moxque quod est (hora brevis conj.),
 2956 canem (ciphum K camum, cadum conj.), 3467 omni (omine
 conj.), 3674 inque (iamque).

	<u>a</u> readings	<u>b</u> readings
17	reuoluo	recordor
33	prodigiosus	prodigiosos
87	nequibat	negabat
114	opis	opem
153	modo	nunc
222	placet	patet
262	quoque . . . nunc	quaque . . . tunc
314	subtraxit	subtraheret
394	castigat	tunc munda
497	michi dum coniuncta	dum me comitata
527	pariter conturbat	pecudum turbator
545	comitantur et illi	comitatur et illa
580	mundana	discreta
621	noli tardare pedester	nocuit differre paratis
742	nec tamen invenit que cupiebat ibi	orbe quod in toto non fuit usque petens
791	nomen Burnellus michi stat	nomine Burnellus dicor
808	decent	decens
846	soli	solo
924	leditur et	lesa sed est
936	absque	atque
1025	accipiam	decipiam
1040	cederit, cesserit	sederit
1061- 1062	correptis fuste molossis disponit socium fallere fraude suum	correpto fuste molossis omnibus extinctis ac- celerauit iter
1149	in	ad
1285	hincque . . . stimulauit	inde . . . stimulabat
1295	sanum	sura
1376	profert	promit
1411	maxima	plurima
1434	largus	lapsus
1462	dare	reddo
1504	ueniunt	subeunt
1567	periitque labor sed	periit labor omnis
1608	meo	puto
1750	nil ergo uitii . . . adesse	quidnam uirtutis . . . abesse
1831	insistendo	inficiendo
1951	uienna	uicina
1994	talem . . . michi	tamen . . . nichil
2088	sepe licebit eis	nam licet illud ibi

2175	ficti . . . furti	falsi . . . ficti
2218	uota	iura, uita
2317	lex noua lutumque	lex est licitumque
2412	mero, metro	melo
2477-		
2478	flagella dat	flagellat sed
2545	maculando	maculosa
2593	reseruant, reformant	serenant
2618	dubitet	dubitat
2718	uestibus ornati	tot uni ciati
2893	uidebar	iuuabat
2925	sanctior unus	stemmate maior
3197	facta sequantur	fata frequentant
3254	religiosus	flagiciosus
3385	composuere	compositure
3481	omnis	esse
3501	eneas	-que meas
3640	que	quas
3708	attulit	abstulit

I deal first with the manuscripts that are the chief supporters of the a tradition. A is the oldest of the extant manuscripts and has the whole poem down to 3542, having lost its final gathering of eight leaves. Very close to it in readings are C and J; these have the whole poem, and so may be taken as representing A after 3542. Errors shared by AC or AJ are 926 excussus AC, 1103 peraddat AC, 1573 quod uixi AJ, 1720 debet AJ, 1929 forte AC, peperi AC. The evidence is hardly enough to prove direct descent, though there is a strong presumption in the case of C. O and P are closely akin to ACJ, and form with them a class as against MNDK. With OP also goes R in many readings, though it sometimes joins with DK; 345 socialia ACJO solacia MND, 560 obsita ACJO consita MNDK, 1201 Boloniam ACJP Bononiam MNDK Coloniam O, 1347 immutant ACJOP immittunt MNDK, 1488 exteriorque ACJOP exteriora MNDK, 1843 sumptis ACJOP spretis MNK, 2304 nunquam ACJOP raro MNDK, 2395 harum sunt steriles et quedam parturientes OPR, 2591 reformant RDK, 2779 impubes OPR, 2798 decedat OPRK, 2816 sacer OPRMND, 3044 auolat OPR. The prose paraphrase in y seems to belong to this group (Coloniam ORy, auolat ORy, and after 1708, where R alone has abbatis tantum capiti ualet infula quantum / testiculos mulo pendere quisque uelit, y has a similar sentence, quia tantum ualet infula in capite abbatis quantum testiculi in corpore muli). The Utrecht and Paris printed editions are closely connected with OPR; they and OPR change perurat to perurant in 811, omitting the following six lines; they also have the couplet after 1708 found elsewhere only in R. M and N are so close as to make a common origin certain; both manuscripts have trans-

posed 3602-3892 to follow 3320, have omitted 3859-3868, and have first omitted 708-711 and then inserted them after 728. N may be a copy of M, but, if so, it obtained from some other source 68-71, which M omits. D and K form a small class as against ACJOPMN, although D lacks the many variants that K has, often complete rewritings of lines and phrases. Some of the latter will be found in the textual notes; for the former: 538 que caudata minus, 952 leuiore, 1199 vacabo, 3296 si de saturno. Both pairs OP and DK, and even sometimes MN, show b readings as against ACJ whose errors they frequently avoid. X may be mentioned here as being, at least for the first part of the work, fairly closely in agreement with D, though it deserts D, after about 1600: 646 linxis DX, 652 silicis DX, 1194 coget cum sit honor incoluisse scolae DX, 1292 cor retinet DX, 1442 restat non alia (aliud X) DX, 1510 roba DX. Where D omits 1304, X has a line that does not occur elsewhere, which the scribe may have put in to provide the pentameter (dum sua dampna nimis cernit inulta diu); at 2071 X has D's *prope nullus* in the margin. After the middle of the work, however, X has become definitely a b manuscript, supporting BH with which it seems sometimes to form a subgroup. The following are instances: 2425 quarta BH, 2524 luit BH, 2612 gerunt KBH, 2735 uacuas BH, 2838 carens, 2911 fixo pede BH; in these lines, where EFL fail and the c group have come to an end, these three manuscripts with occasional help from Y represent the b tradition. After 3259 X is found with BH against EFL, e.g., 3279 meditantur, 3330 ferri, 3390 crure, 3399 uidetis, and so after 3448, though not invariably: 3481 esse BH omni aX, 3497 ulterius X alterius aBH, 3602 unde foret X ille refert aBH, 3613 dimittit at BX, 3635 terra XBH, 3701 adisset XBH, 3710 tulit XB ferens aH, 3759 adest aXH erat B, 3785-3786 couplet found in XH, 3848 inficiatur opus XB. Typical readings of the a class appear in x in the following places: 114 opis, 742 nec tamen etc., 924 leditur et, 1061-1062 corruptis [*sic*] fuste molossis . . . fraude suum, 1295 sanum, 1434 largus, and also 1567, 1750, 1831, 2317, 2477-2478, 3197, 3602-3603 unde refert / ille Drianus ait, 3882-3883 scrutetur . . . uidere. Also, y belongs to this group. Besides its kinship to OPR already noted, the following show adherence to a (I give the readings implied by the prose paraphrase, if not the paraphrase itself): 1968 nomen subripuit etc., 1979 peperi (A), 2038 bono, 2103 comodant, 2118 her her, 2317 noua lege (paraphrase), 2343 uiuere (nomen sine uita), 2593 reseruant, 2816 sacer (MD), 2824 Augustino, 2893 uidebar, 2901 sub ramis (DK), 3011 amisi, 3044 auolat (RO), 3197 sequantur, 3390 super crura humi sedit (paraphrase).

Over against the family of manuscripts which I have described as representing the a traditions of readings, there is the b group of which the chief members are EFL, BH, S, and the numerous

Vienna manuscripts. Of these, B and H are the only manuscripts that contain the whole work; EFL have a long lacuna from 2483 to 3258, and also end at 3448, whereas S ends at 2522 and the other members of the group at 2602. H differs from B in lacking certain lines, 1582-1583, 2743-2744, 2861-2862, in having two couplets not found in B, 3785-3786 and 3810-3811, and in showing to a lesser degree than B the influence of a readings, as in 549, 1813, 2214, 2360, 2603, 3235, 3345. H also seems more aware of metrical correctness (cf. 2315, 3235, 3345). But for the most part they agree closely. EFL share certain lacunae, as already stated. With BH they are the main representatives of this tradition, although L is sometimes in agreement with a against the others. It has more errors, and, where it disagrees with EF, is usually wrong. In supplementing BH where they are wrong, it is mainly on EF that we have to rely, as in 137 modico, 396 torruerit, 810 furcifer, 1711 menstrua.

In the large group that ends (except for S) at 2602, there are the following manuscripts that I have designated c: STkmtuVz. In this connection we may consider Y, Q, and Z. Y has some large omissions, the story of Gundulph 1249-1502, the section on the Gilbertines 2401-2412, and the story of the three Fates with the forty-eight lines preceding, 3233-3458; the two large lacunae seem to be due to error, for in both instances the words "talía" or "talía dicenti" occur at the beginning of the sections omitted and following, and in the latter instance the two lines have been confused, the words being "talía dicenti nyso de nare sinistra." Y is a mixed manuscript, with a general preference for a, at least in the first half of the poem. The collation of Y is only partial, but the following will show its varied character: 17 recorder (b), 35 prodigiosam (b), 114 opis (a), 742 nec tamen etc. (a), 846 solo (b), 950 lesus et est (b), 1025 accipiam (a); toward the end, where the b manuscripts fail, it gives considerable support to BH. Q shows some agreement with Y: 373 oes tros QY, 377 tutrix, 378 adheret, 392 multociens prodest, 403-404, 407-408 omitted by both manuscripts, 905 necnon satis ampla platea YQ. Z shows a general preference for the b readings, although, as so often with fifteenth-century manuscripts, there are traces of a influence as well, e.g., 33 prodigiosus, 394 castigat, 497 michi dum coniuncta. Within the b tradition it sometimes agrees with c, as in 91 prolixior, 957 non pereat solus, 1055 dicens, 1287 labente. Probably a fuller collation than I have would show it to be a regular member of this group.

The kinship of the STkmtuVz group may be shown by the following selection of readings: 91 prolixior kmtuVz: productior, 335 soluisse SkmtuVz: priuasse, 434 consociisque SkmtuVz (cum S): pastoribusque, prepositisque, 533 signis, lignis SkmuVz: siluis, 564 sustulit SkmtuVz: extulit, 1055 dicens, ducens SkmtuVz: minans, 1311 iam lustrum fecerat ille

SkmtuVz: sextum iam pullus in annum, 1335 cunctis prefigitur Skmtuz: tempus prescribitur, 1414 preterisse SkmtuVz: dis siluisse, 1787 ipse meus tanto StuVz: ille meus quanto, 1863 posuere SkmtuVz: tulit inde, 2070 scindere ligna domus STkmtuVz: ligna referre domum, 2145 de facili STkmtuVz: qua facie, 2431 decerno STkmtuVz: discerno, 2553 sufficet tuVz: sufficeret, 2568 nec fera consulitur consule queso feras kmtuVz: quam plures faciunt sepe dolore graui.

It is interesting to note that in all these readings there is agreement with the three other printed editions, Leipzig, Cologne, and Frankfurt. On the other hand, the lacuna in Y from 3233 to 3458, with the same confusion of line ("talía dicenti nysso de nare sinistra") exists in the Leipzig and Frankfurt editions; also, after 2602, where the c group ends, there is some similarity between these three editions and YZ: 2917 nemorose Y Edd., 3061 dixerunt queque Y Edd., 3125 pinguis erat cibus Y Edd., 3783 talis . . . dispositus YZ Edd., 3812 persuadendo michi quam bona cuncta sua YZ Edd., 3882-3883 discretus lector de notet illa sibi / et cum signauit Y Edd. Although s is mainly b, about halfway through it begins to show traces of the other tradition (I have no evidence beyond 2740). Readings are: 17 record, 33 prodigiosos, 68 felix fuit (D), 258 nimis (MDK), 281 sapienter (SFH), 292 pio (EF), 314 subtraheret, 317 sero, 527 pecudum turbator, 549 decurrere (MDH), 550 celeri, 600 stulte redito (S), 788 toro (a), 791 nomine B. dicor, 846 solo (bK), 857 tantum que (EFSD), 859 aures (a), 1567 labor omnis et omne, 1569 super inficienda, 1608 puto, 1609 pellis (BH), 1893 miser et, 1926 qualis ego (a), 1939 petenti (a), 1951 uicina (a), 2145 de facili (c), 2182 timore (bK), 2212 teritur (a), 2593 serenant 2612 uerborumque uices (K), 2737 splendida . . . aula (a). The manuscript is thus seen to be mixed, with occasional readings of the c group and more regularly of b.

G belongs, with some exceptions, to the b class; it is incomplete, ending at 2746, but may have had the whole text. I, which has lost a gathering containing 1116 to 1744, lacks also 2747 to 3258, was probably a copy of G to 2746, and, after that, a copy of E. Instances of GI following a are: 33 prodigiosus (with F), 224 astringit (with H), 258 minus (with L), 658 tu, 1158 ut fuit (G), 1424 largus (G), 1831 insistendo, 1843 sumptis, 1968 nomen subripuit, 2047 nisi quod, 2317 lex noua lutumque. I ends with EFL at 3448. U, which has come to us in a very imperfect state, having only lines 1043-2350, 2678-3358, 3413-3864, seems to have used two manuscripts and corrected one from the other; e.g., in 1163-1186, U has for 1168 monstrabit signis . . . omne meum, after which follows monstrabit signis tollent caudas totidemque etc., the scribe having repeated the first two words of 1168, misled by the two M's, then, misled again by the two mille's, skipped to 1172; but twelve lines lower down, after 1184,

he has inserted 1168-1169 correctly, as in the b text. Further, the following readings are all in rasura: 1831 insistendo, 1926 qualis ego, 2737 splendida . . . aula, 3129 et per quam pingues pulli procreantur et; it shows similarity to G in being a mainly b manuscript with affinities to a, which coincide with those of G sufficiently often to suggest at least that G was one of the manuscripts it used, correcting first from one, then from another. It is to be noted that of these two manuscripts, U ends at the same point where B and H end, 3864, and that possibly G, in its complete state, may have ended there also. But the b texts are curiously incomplete, and, if any of them did contain the whole work, the only trace of their version of the last thirty-six lines is to be found in such manuscripts as YZ, which have variants that may belong to that tradition.

Since l goes beyond 2602, it does not belong to the c group. Its readings vary; a: 742 nec tamen inuenit, 1569 superinstituende, 1926 qualis ego, 1968 nomen subripuit, b: 663 sed et ista, 1567 periit labor omnis, 2088 nam licet illud ibi, 2218 iura, 2593 serenant, 2812 grauet. n and o are very similar in length, 434 and 426 lines respectively, and were both compiled by students from the central part of the poem. Both p and q belong to the c group: p has its explicit immediately after that line, and q, though only two lines of the verse text remain, has the letter to William in the short form characteristic of c.

The result of this attempt to classify the manuscripts is as follows:

Regular Manuscripts of the <u>a</u> Family:	ACJOPMNDKRxy	12
Regular Manuscripts of the <u>b</u> Family:	EFLSVTZkmtuzBHh	15
Mixed Manuscripts:	XYQGIUs	7
Florilegia or Fragmentary Manuscripts:	elnopq	<u>6</u>
		40

It is arbitrary to draw a definite line between "regular" and "mixed," as I have done here; it is largely a matter of degree. "Lectons," as Housman says, "are bandied to and fro from one copy to another, and all the streams of tradition are united by canals."⁶⁰ If we need not in this instance admit there are "no strictly separated families" of manuscripts, it is because of the double tradition that provides a rough means of classification.

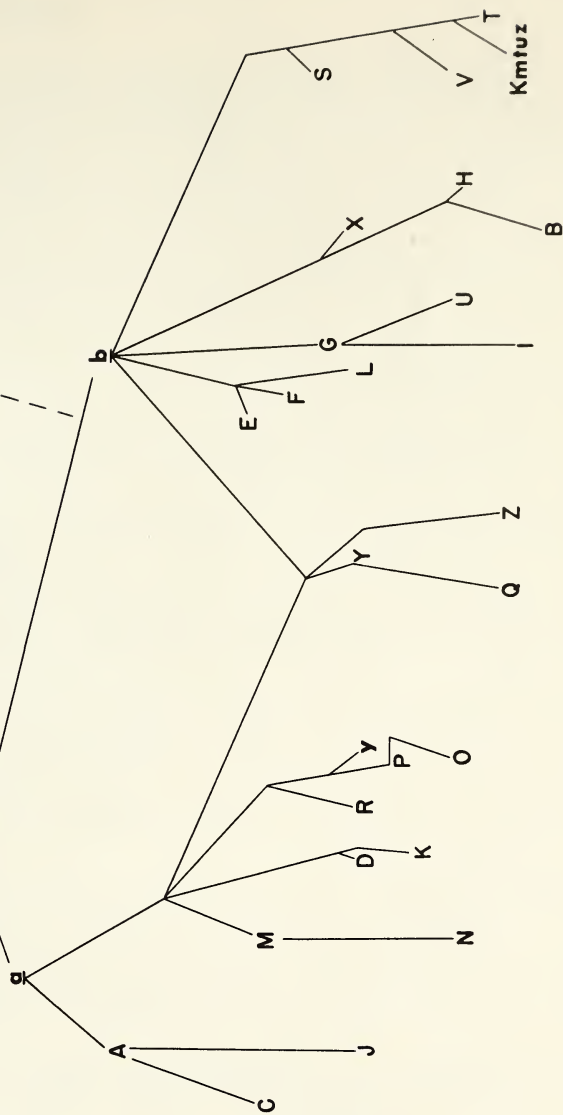
The relation between the different manuscripts arranged in their groups and subgroups is best seen by a stemma; I have attempted to provide one in the sketch, shown on page 23, in which all the manuscripts except the florilegia and the fragments are included. I have not tried to express the cross influences except in the case of Y, and then only generally; I have not carried the analysis of the manuscripts so far as to be able to say what particular manuscript or manuscripts provided the a readings for X or the b readings for D.

AUTOGRAPH

NIGEL'S REVISION

TEXT WITH ERRORS COMMON TO ALL MSS

1200
1250
1300
1350
1400
1450
1500



The Double Tradition and the History of the Text

From a consideration of the classes and families of the manuscripts, it would appear that although the a tradition can be dated back to not later than the middle of the thirteenth century, the b tradition goes back to perhaps a little after that date. But a consideration of the variants themselves forces the admission that many b readings are older than those of the rival group. In many instances in which a is definitely wrong, the mistakes seem to have occurred through misreadings of the original; for example in the following (the b reading is quoted first): 24 non: nunc, 26 erat: erit, 114 opem: opis, 262 quaque: quoque, 404 spernit: spreuit, 460 tunso: tonso, 651 stamine: flamine, 808 decens: decent, 972 culpe: culpa, 1285 inde: hinc que, 1359 nox: uox, 1843 spretis: sumptis, 1939 petendi: petenti, 1951 uienna: uicina, 2071 trinodi: trimordi, 2089 uorarem: uo rare. Again, there are passages that occur in b but not in a; in many it seems certain that they were in the common archetype of the two families, but were omitted by the archetype of a through homoeoteuton (or -archon): 247-248 michi, 1275-1276 modum, 1302-1303, 1885-1886, 2310-2311, 2407-2408, 2619-2620, 2918-2920 (perhaps confusion of solent and simul), 3122-3124 (double datur perhaps confused), 3518-3519. Some of the aforementioned errors also appear in b manuscripts (1275 E, 1302 SF, 1885 F, 2407 L, 3122 Y), but this does not invalidate the argument. In 2145-2146 the similarity of qua facie and quid facie rem may have caused the error, especially if ergo, represented by g̃, had been missed. In 2147 to 2149 the double michi and sumat, sumat would account for the error. This evidence as to the priority of b readings and the greater correctness of the b text gives a presumption of superiority when other variants are considered.

There are also a large number of instances (for the most part single words) which are not the result of error and offer little or nothing to choose between them: for example, 17 recordor, reuoluo (possibly recordor for the sake of rhyme with admiror), 317 raro, sero, 1608 meo, puto, 550 celeri, crebro, 670 fata, cuncta, 1376 promit, profert. But in others, and perhaps especially in the longer phrases, there seems to be an effort to improve the expression in various ways, as in the examples in the afore-mentioned list for lines 394, 430, 621, 742, 791, 1567. It is possible that they derive from alternative readings by the author himself, perhaps even from a revision by him, which gained currency in a revised text issued perhaps in his lifetime, a text that also avoided the many mistakes of which the a text is guilty. They cannot, however, be all credited to the author; to take only one instance, in 430 a has tunc munda, almost certainly a corruption of cum cauda, for which a scribe, in order to make sense, has substituted preterita. In

621 the crude insertion of the tag from Lucan does not seem quite in Nigel's manner. Nor can one assume that all the b variants are revised or even alternative; in 902 *meditando* may be intended as an improvement on b's *ratus ipse*; in 600 a may have rewritten the text in *tucius ire domum*, where, though the rival tradition is divided in itself, it seems unanimous for some form of *stultus* as first word (*stultus es ito*, *stultus es esto domi*, *stultius ito*); the omission of *est* from a's phrase does not seem Nigellian, and it looks rather as if the original scribe of a had missed the double *st* in *est stultus* and written *tutius*, changing *ito* to *ire* to suit the sense.

In 763 b is again divided; a has *hic teneo*, with *cura foret* at the end of the next line; EFL have *hic emerem* and *lucra darent*, but SBH support a with *cura foret*, and vary EFL's reading with *emimus hic*. It is possible that *hic emerem* is a corruption of *hic teneo*, made into sense by *emimus hic*, perhaps because *dedisset* suggests that the clause refers to Truffator and his companions going home and not to Burnellus. But if *cura foret* can mean "there would be a cure" (cf. 105), it has more point than *lucra darent*.

In 2315 I prefer what I consider the "revised" reading *seculares* quique to the earlier and unmetrical *qui secularesque*, although the latter is in SB; Nigel's prosody is on the whole pretty sound, and, where a word like *seculares* is strictly inadmissible, he would do the least possible violence to prosody in admitting it; in this instance, *seculares*, shortening the first syllable, would suffice, as in a similar instance, *pedagogus*. It is true that *qui secularesque* only shortens one otherwise long syllable, but as that is a heavily accented one, the violence to quantity is more glaring. If that was Nigel's first expedient, it is natural to suppose that his revision of his text, if he did make one, might well have included this metrical emendation. Some such theory of an author's revision would appear to be a possible explanation of the peculiar variants in this work. It does not, however, offer an easy solution to difficulties, and, except for a general presumption of b superiority, affords no way of deciding in individual instances, which have to be considered separately.

Based on the foregoing analysis, the history of the text of Speculum Stultorum would be somewhat as follows. The first stage is represented by Nigel's own autograph. In the second stage, errors common to all manuscripts appear; there are not many of these, but enough to show that all existing manuscripts derive from one original. Then comes the first divergence between the two families, which takes the form of errors committed by a and avoided by b, partly by incorrect copying of words, partly by omission of lines through similarity of endings or beginnings, partly by the appearance of variants due to attention

to sense rather than to memory. In these no scribal error can be traced, or willful change of word, and there is little or no basis for choosing between them. Here may be included the not infrequent variation between tense and mood, where the choice is between terminations in -et or -at or -it; it may be possible to find a preference for strict grammar in one scribe, or an indifference to prosody in another, but it would be difficult to base a theory of criticism as applied to this text on such arguments. With one exception, these make up the main differences between the two families and antedate the division into subordinate groups. The one exception is the revisions of phrase which form a striking feature of the text of the Speculum, illustrated by the column on pages 17-18. I expressed the opinion that some of these at any rate might have come from a revision by the author himself, seeming to be improvements on the alternative phrase, Nigellian in character, and not likely to be the type a copyist would invent. Such are, for example, those on 527, 663, 742, 791, 1061, where Nigel may have remembered that Fro-mund's dogs were all to be killed, and that therefore he must change his first phrase correptis fuste molossis. It might well be that such alternatives were found as part of a projected second edition or recension, and incorporated in the b texts as a result. Their number is not large, and tends to diminish as the poem proceeds. It is arguable that they are all inventions of a copyist and should therefore be excluded from the text. Some manuscripts seem to reflect this view, for example, X favors the a readings, that is, the unrevised phrases, as I consider them, at the beginning, and passes over to the b tradition about halfway through. But some discrimination has to be made; it is impossible to admit all a or all b readings, and whereas I have admitted some of these revisions, I have excluded others, some as being not in Nigel's manner, some as giving an inferior rather than a better reading. Such, at any rate, as they are, they had become by perhaps the early fourteenth century embodied in the various subdivisions into which the main families were beginning to split up. The distinctive features of these, whether EFL, c, DK, or any other, are beginning to appear. As the fifteenth century proceeded, more and more interchange took place, and L, for instance, or H or S is found to contain a readings, and b readings occur in M or D or O. Manuscripts became mixed in character, and, like U or X, began with one manuscript as their exemplar and ended with another.

The number, date, and distribution of the manuscripts of the Speculum Stultorum would suggest that though popularity eventually came to the poem, it was long in coming. Of the thirty-four manuscripts (apart from fragments and florilegia) now extant, only one belongs to the thirteenth century and only seven to the fourteenth, mostly the second half of the century, while a few

are dated about 1400. The poem took some time to win the favor of its own countrymen, but, once accomplished, the following century saw a rapid increase in its popularity. Yet, whereas the fourteenth-century manuscripts are fewer on the Continent (two as opposed to five), the proportion of fifteenth-century manuscripts is different, namely fifteen abroad to ten at home, and the fragments and florilegia are themselves all Continental. This may represent no more than the ordinary time lag of a work establishing itself in a foreign country, and it would probably be fruitless to ascribe specific reasons for its success abroad, such as the first movements of revolt against the Church and criticism of the Curia or the monastic system. Some notion of the causes of its popularity may be gained by a consideration of the texts themselves; for instance, certain parts attract more of the interest and attention of scribes and copiers than others. Here they constantly improved readings, intruded glosses, rewrote whole lines or couplets, interpolated: the two main lines of tradition were intermingled, and texts became very eclectic. But they concentrated much more on the narrative and satirical portions down to the end of the review of the Orders, and much less on the long tirade against the Curia, abbots, and bishops, where the amusing satire of the animal fable was exchanged for the long-sustained invective.

It would be rash, perhaps, to lay too much weight on the peculiar lack of large portions of the poem throughout the b texts; loss of leaves may happen to any manuscript, omission of passages through scribal error is a common phenomenon, and a glance at the textual notes shows few instances of like endings or beginnings of lines in which some scribe has not fallen into the trap. Yet it is a curious coincidence that the original of EFL missed eight hundred lines that include the tirade against Church abuses and the speeches of the three birds, that the original of the c group (subdivision of b) must have stopped short a hundred lines after this section had begun, at 2602, and that the largest lacuna in U falls in this part also, as it does in Y from 3234 to 3459. Still, the general impression is that the first half of the poem received the greatest degree of attention and approval.

Basis of the Text

The text is based on the agreement of the four a manuscripts AMDK and the 6 b manuscripts EFLSBH. As a subordinate group of b manuscripts, I have occasionally included readings in which the Central European manuscripts or a majority of them agree; these I call c. Of the rest, CJ are practically copies of A, and N of M; OP add little or nothing to the a text and, like other fifteenth-century manuscripts, sometimes have readings of the other family. The same applies to R. X and Y are mixed manu-

scripts, but I have sometimes quoted X at the end as showing support for B and H, and Y where the c group fails, since it has affinities with them. Of Z, I have not sufficient material to warrant its use, nor of the Munich and Prague florilegia.

Where the two families disagree, I have shown a general preference for b, a much sounder text on the whole; sometimes, but rarely, I have even preferred readings confined to BH or EFL against all the others. I have tried to form the text in the light of what I consider to have been Nigel's attainments in grammar and prosody, to guard against later improvements in the former and corruptions in the latter. I have referred earlier to what I have called the author's own revisions; obviously it is a highly conjectural matter. Briefly, the points are that some a readings are apparently first drafts rather than alterations or corruptions, and that the corresponding changes in b manuscripts seem to be improvements, and were perhaps incorporated in the text at some time subsequent to the earliest edition as Nigel's own work. As examples of these, I should give the readings on 527, 742, 791, 1061, 1567, 1750, 2088, and 2718.

NIGELLI SPECULUM STULTORUM

NIGELLI SPECULUM STULTORUM

Prologus auctoris

- Suscipe pauca tibi veteris, Willelme, Nigelli
Scripta, minus sapido nuper arata stylo.
Hoc modicum novitatis opus tibi mitto legendum,
Maxima pars animae dimidiumque meae.
Ipsa superficies quamvis videatur inepta
Materiesque rudis, verba diserta minus,
Multa tamen poterit lector studiosus in illis
Sensibus et studiis carpere digna suis.
Non quod verba sonant, sed quae contraria verbis
10 Insita sensus habet sunt retinenda magis.
Quis vetet, ex nugis vario paradigmate sumpto,
Seria quandoque plurima posse legi?
Saepius historiae brevitatis mysteria magna
Claudit, et in vili res pretiosa latet.
Quicquid ad exemplum morum scriptura propinat
Doctrinae causa, debet habere locum.
Saepius admiror, dum tempora lapsa revolve,
Quam fuerint nobis quamque notanda tibi.
20 Nil cum praeterito praesens mihi tempus habere
Cernitur, in caudam vertitur omne caput.
Fit de nocte dies, tenebrae de luce serena,
De stulto sapiens, de sapiente nihil;
Fit Cato mentis hebes, linguam facundus Ulixes
Perdidit instabiles non habet aura vices;
Plusque Catone sapit, magis est facundus Ulixes:
Qui modo mutus erat mente manuque carens;
Quique fuit sapiens duro sub tempore belli,
Hunc quasi delirum tempora pacis habent;
30 Et qui nil sapuit nisi stultum tempore duro,
Postquam pax rediit, incipit esse Cato.
Quodque magis miror, furantur Nestoris annos,
Quos nondum partus edidit ipse suus.
Sic fortuna, parit dum partus prodigiosos
Redditur ex partu prodigiosa suo;
Prodiga facta magis quam provida, prodigiosam
Conspicit ante suam se peperisse diem.
Nam puer impubes Cicerone disertior ipso
Fingitur, et magno scire Catone magis;
40 Omnia lunari subiecta globo reserare
Novit, et interdum mystica multa videt.
Qualemcumque virum cupias, quantumque disertum
Fingere mente, manu pingere, talis erit;
Talis apud tales, talis sub tempore tali,
Subque suo tali iudice talis erit.

- Sicque dealbatus paries depingitur extra,
 Interius plenus sordibus atque luto.
 Sic pictura lutum vestit, sic gemma venustat
 Stercora, sic aurum putrida ligna tegit.
 Qui nihil est per se, nec habet quo tendat in altum,
 50 Expedit alterius ut relevetur ope.
 Est tamen absurdum, cum quilibet ex alieno
 Intumet ulterius quam tumuisse decet.
 Quamvis, de propria cum quis virtute superbit,
 Sit vitium, levius hoc tamen esse puto.
 Consuetudo tamen solet attenuare pudorem,
 Reddit et audacem quem mora longa iuvat.
 Regna licet teneat sceptrumque leonis asellus,
 Juraque det populis, semper asellus erit.
 Asperior tamen est, in sede leonis asellus
 60 Si positus fuerit, quam foret ipse leo.
 Pelle leonina tectum detexit asellum
 Fastus et excedens gloria vana modum.
 Si moderata foret saltem, sub imagine falsa
 Res simulata diu posset habere locum.
 Sed nimis impatiens gravis in novitate vetustas
 Praecipites saltus in sua damna dedit;
 Dum miser ipse sibi factus suus ex alieno
 Fortunam didicit dedidicisse suam,
 Perdidit invitus, male se simulante leonem,
 70 Quod bene sive male credidit esse bonum.
 Si qua minus prudens male perdidit, ex alieno
 Perdidit, ex proprio nil periisse liquet.
 Quae fuit ante sibi nullo mediante figura
 Permanet, ex nihilo perdidit ergo nihil.
 Qui leo non potuit fieri, si fiat asellus
 Sufficit, alterius sarcina pondus habet.
 Quoque magis fertur magis est onerosa ferenti,
 Respectu vario pondera pondus habent.
 Sanius ergo foret alienum non rapuisse,
 80 Quam cum dedecore non retinere suum.

De asino qui voluit caudam suam longiorem fieri

Auribus immensis quondam donatus asellus
 Institit ut caudam posset habere parem.
 Cauda suo capiti quia se conferre nequibat,
 Altius ingemuit de brevitate sua,
 Non quia longa satis non esset ad utilitatem.
 Ante tamen quam sic apocopata foret,
 Consuluit medicos, quia quod natura nequibat
 Artis ab officio posse putabat eos.

Responsio Galieni

- Cui Galienus ait: "Satis est bipedalis asello
 90 "Cauda, quid ulterius poscis, inepte, tibi?
 "Sufficit ista tibi, nam quo productior esset,
 "Sordidior fieret proximiorque luto.
 "Hac nisi contentus fueris, dum forte requiris
 "Prolongare nimis, abbreviabis eam.
 "Quod natura dedit non sit tibi vile, sed illud
 "Inter divitias amplius esse puta.
 "Crede mihi, vetus est tibi cauda salubrior ista
 "Natibus innata quam foret illa nova.
 "Nec placet ista tamen, sed habere cupis meliorem,
 100 "Artibus et curis insita pejor erit.
 "Sed neque de facili posset nova cauda creari,
 "Quamvis deposita cauda vetusta foret.
 "Vita brevis, morbus gravis est et tempus acutum,
 "Ars est longa nimis; abdita causa latet.
 "Difficiles curae nimium, sed et experimenta
 "Ipsa suos medicos fallere saepe solent.
 "Certa pericla manent, medicorum dogmata non sunt
 "Qualia tu credis, qualia quisque putat.
 "Sed neque sic passim praestat medicina salutem,
 110 "Quamvis distribuatur arte peritus eam.
 "Pendet in ambiguo morbi medicina, dolorem
 "Impedit atque parit conditione pari,
 "Quae prosunt aliis aliis nocuisse probantur,
 "Non est in medico quam cupit aeger opem.
 "Velle potest medicus, sed non conferre, salutem;
 "Gratia diva facit, ipse minister adest.
 "Saepe quidem medici fallunt, falluntur et ipsi,
 "Et vice conversa quae nocuere iuvant.
 "Esto, quod ars mandat, faciat, nec abinde recedat;
 120 "Non tamen evenient quae cupis ipse tibi.
 "Solus enim Deus est morbis medicina salutis;
 "Nos tantum velle possumus, ipse potest.
 "Nos nihil absque suo vel eo nos praeveniente
 "Possumus; ipse sibi sufficit absque meo.
 "Nos herbis variis, pigmentis et speciebus
 "Utimur; hic verbo singula sana facit.
 "Dicimur a populo medici, sed nomine solo;
 "Sed Deus est medicus nomine reque simul.
 "Quam dedit ille tibi caudam retinere memento,
 130 "Stulte, nec ulterius ulteriora petas.
 "Ne perdas quod habes, quod habes tenuisse labora;
 "Ne veniant subito deteriora tibi.
 "Quam tibi plantavit caudam, qui contulit aures,
 "Si mihi credideris, hanc retinere stude.
 "Inque statu quo te medicus tuus ille reliquit

- "Sta, donec veniat, mutet et ipse statum.
 "Tutius est certe modico gaudere salubri,
 "Quam magnis tristi conditione frui.
 140 "Volvere multa solet animi meditatio stulta,
 "Quae magis impediunt quam sua vota juvant.
 "Auribus ex propriis poteris cognoscere, quis sis,
 "Quamque sit absurdum quod statuisse cupis.
 "Auribus ex geminis tria corpora talia posses
 "Investire satis et remaneret adhuc.
 "Non honor est sed onus tales aures habuisse,
 "Quae pariant domino nil nisi damna suo.
 "Auribus ecce tuis si par tibi cauda fuisset,
 "Quid nisi juncta simul haec duo monstra forent?
 "Innatum solumsatis est in corpore monstrum,
 150 "Ingeminata magis deteriora forent.
 "Cum pateant oculis quae sunt manifesta, duabus
 "Facilius poterit una latere lues.
 "Ex re nomen habens modo diceris auriculatus,
 "Risus et es populi ludibriumque fori.
 "Quid si cauda tibi fieret quasi pertica longa?
 "Per caput et caudam tunc traheris item.
 "Si duo monstra simul corpus jungantur in unum,
 "A populo digito nonne notandus eris?
 160 "Magnum magna decent; brevis es, nihil utilitatis
 "Quam tibi cauda brevis amplius ampla daret.
 "Tutius ergo puto caudam retinere vetustam,
 "Quam plantare novam quae minus apta foret.
 "Sed neque cauda nova, quod et auditu novitatem
 "Narrat inauditam, crescere posset ita;
 "Res facilis dictu, sed difficilis nimis actu,
 "Verba ruunt subito, rem mora longa trahit.
 "Est leve dixisse quia ventus et aura ministrant,
 "Sed fecisse quidem non leve pondus habet.
 "Dicere multorum est, sed vox nisi crescat in actum
 170 "Est vento similis, ventus et ipsa levis.
 "Dicere quisque potest, sed dictis jungere facta,
 "Si bene perpendas, non ita quisque potest.
 "Haec duo sunt ejus cujus sunt omnia, per quem
 "Omnia, sub quo sunt omnia jure pari;
 "Cujus idem posse quod velle, nec hoc minus illo,
 "Qui solus cunctis contulit esse suum;
 "Qui facit et reficit, creat atque creata gubernat,
 "Non minor aut major tempore sive loco.
 "Hujus in arbitrio pendent mortalia quaeque;
 180 "Hic et non alius praestitit esse tibi.
 "Quod dedit ipse tibi, qualem te contulit esse,
 "Etsi nolueris, improbe, talis eris.
 "Cur non sustineas quod oportet sustinuisse

"Ejus ad arbitrium, quem cohibere nequis?
 "Crede mihi, nihil est fieri quod posse putasti,
 "Quod natura negat reddere nemo potest.

Increpatio Galieni

190 "Numquid enim cervus, saliens in montibus altis,
 "Supplicat atque petit qualia, stulte, petis?
 "Si te majores, si te quoque nobiliores
 "Talia nulla rogant, tu quid, inepte, rogas?
 "Nil lepus aut ursus, caper aut capra, damula, cervus,
 "Causantur caudae de brevitae suae.
 "Numquid es his melior, major vel sanctior unus?
 "Et tamen his brevior quam tibi cauda manet.

Consolatio Galieni

200 "Nobile corpus habes, non sit tibi cauda pudori;
 "Nam si cauda brevis, est tibi grande caput.
 "Non brevis est adeo quod non aliis brevior
 "Esse liquet, satis est ergo remissa tibi.
 "Quod minus est caudae capitis supplebis honore;
 "Non decet ut fiant illud et illa pares.
 "In titulo caudae Francorum rex Lodovicus
 "Non tibi praecellit pontificesve sui.
 "Firmiter ergo tene quod habes, quia conditionem
 "De facili posses damnificare tuam.

Narratio Galieni ut revocet asinum a stultitia sua

210 "An nescis vaccis quid contigit ecce duabus,
 "Quas puer aspexi patris in aede mei?
 "Altera Brunetta fuit, altera dicta Bicornis,
 "Sed nigra Brunetta, flava Bicornis erat.
 "Contigit has igitur hiemali tempore quondam
 "Nocte retardatas non rediisse domum.
 "Per vada transibant limosa lutoque repleta,
 "Pascua cum peterent cotidiana sibi;
 "Utque solent vaccae, caudis de more lutosi,
 "In pratis luteis procubuerunt toris.
 "Nocte gelu subitum veniens terramque perurgens
 "Contulit in solidum mollia cuncta prius.
 "Duru in lapidem quicquid fuit ante lutosum;
 "Stagna, lacus, fontes, marmoris instar erant.
 220 "Quas fovet innatas ligat arctius alveus undas,
 "Nec sinit elabi flumina more suo.
 "Tot pontes quot aquae, liber nec ut ante negatus
 "Transitus est per aquas, qua via plana patet.

- "Haeserunt terrae cauda mediante iuvencae,
 "Arctius astringit terra lutosa lutum.
 "Undique terra riget caudas retinente rigore,
 "Surgere non poterant nec remeare domum.
 "Mane revertente pariter voluere reverti,
 "Sed prohibet glacies conglutinata solo.
 230 "Plurima conatae, spem defrustrante labore,
 "Tandem lassatas continuere manus.
 "Multa tamen querulae tacitoque dolore gementes
 "Attentare student et variare vices.
 "Sed nihil est quod agunt, propria virtute resolvit
 "Non sinit objecta vis violenta sibi.

De Bicornis

- "Anxia facta nimis vitulo clamante Bicornis,
 "Acrius instabat posse referre pedem.
 "Nam nova nata domi stabulis inclusa relicta
 "Hesterno fuerat, ne sequeretur eam.
 240 "Sed nil proficiens cum desperata laboris
 "Jam foret, ingemuit altius, haec et ait:

Consilium Bicornis

- "Una salus superest, caudas resecare lutasas,
 "Quae retinent miseras nec remeare sinunt.
 "Quid mea cauda mihi vel quid sibi contulit unquam?
 "Quis fructus vel quae gloria cauda mihi?
 "En per eam teneor tanquam captiva, quid ergo?
 "Non honor est, sed onus, haec mea cauda mihi.
 "Esto quod hinc possem cauda remanente redire,
 "Semper erunt oneri cauda lutumque mihi.
 250 "Attrahit ipsa lutum pendens oneratque ferentem;
 "Quid tribuat video nil nisi triste mihi?
 "Libera nunc essem nulloque tenente redirem,
 "Ni foret in causa sordida cauda mihi.
 "Tollere materiam, ne propter materiaturum
 "Hic ego deficiam, tutius esse puto.
 "Causidici dicunt, quia legibus est ita cautum,
 "Causatum perimit causa perempta suum,
 "Sanius est partem quam totum perdere, caudam
 "Quam caput, hoc modicum quam meliora magis.
 260 "Malo mihi caudam pariter cum crure revelli,
 "Quam subito vitam claudere morte meam.
 "Forsitan hic alias simili ratione morarer,
 "Quaque modo teneor tunc retinerer item.
 "Si mea cauda modo fuerit succisa, regressus
 "Tutior hic aderit quam fuit ante mihi.

- "Parvula, si peream, mecum mea nata peribit,
 "Quam nondum quintum constat habere diem.
 "Et si non pro me faciam mihi talia, saltem
 "Propter eam fieri cogit, oportet ita.
 270 "Corporis haec nostri pars est, quam dente procaci
 "Consuevere canes dilacerare prius.
 "Dimidiumque fere jam pridem surripuere;
 "Heu mihi! Quod reliquum restitit usque modo?
 "Quod superest canibus placet hoc impendere natae,
 "Hocque pium satis est, hocque salubre mihi.
 "Ergo quid ulterius quae sum factura morabor?
 "Casibus in duris accelerare juvat."
 Dixit, et arreptam caudam pugione recidit,
 Festinansque domum carpere coepit iter.
 280 Ante tamen studuit ferrum praestare sorori,
 Posset ut a simili solvere vincla sibi.
 Sed minus haec praeceps prudensque magis patienter
 Verba tulit, cohibens a pugione manum.

Responsio Brunettae

- Postea respondens dixit, "Quid, inepta, laboras?
 "Quod mihi persuades absit ut illud agam!
 "Rebus in adversis opus est moderamine multo,
 "Non decet in gravibus praecipitare gradum.
 "Rebus in ambiguis quotiens fortuna laborat,
 "Consilium praeceps non decet esse nimis.
 290 "Impetus, ut memini, gravis est, male cuncta ministrat;
 "Si male cuncta facit, ergo nec ulla bene.
 "Non opus est gravibus, ubi res gravis est et acerba,
 "Sed magis auxilio consilioque bono.
 "Mitius in duris sapiens Cato mandat agendum,
 "Mollia ne pereant asperitate gravi.
 "Res ubi difficilis non est ita praecipitandum,
 "Tempore sanatur quod ratione nequit.
 "Si fortuna modo gravis est, conversa repente
 "Quod grave portamus alleviabit onus.
 300 "Tempora labuntur dominique cadunt, renovantur
 "Servi, vulgus abit, area lata patet.
 "Quae veniunt subito subito quandoque recedunt;
 "Prospera cum duris mixta venire solent.
 "Fortuitos casus non est vitare volentum,
 "Nemo futurorum praescius esse potest.
 "Plus valet interdum non praetimuisse futura,
 "Quam certum fieri sollicitumque nimis.
 "Nam sua multotiens docuit vexatio multos,
 "Obfuit et multis prosperitate frui.
 "Casibus in laetis minor est sollertia multis,

- 310 "Erudit incautos sollicitudo gravis.
 "Casibus in laetis magis est metuenda voluptas,
 "Segnius in vitium tristia corda ruunt.
 "Integra Troja fuit dum se suspectus utrimque
 "Subtraheret durus hostis ab hoste suo.
 "Pax data subvertit quae praelia non potuerunt
 "Moenia, plus nocuit rege remissa manus.
 "Sola venire solent et vix et sero secunda;
 "Turbine vallata sors inimica venit.
 "Si fortuna dedit dudum mihi dulcia, quare
 320 "Dedigner sub ea paucula dura pati?
 "Dura quidem patior sed non duranda per annum,
 "Nondum praeteriit tota vel una dies.
 "Principis aut regis si carcere tenta ligarer,
 "Asperiora luto ferrea vincla forent.
 "Mollius esse lutum ferro quis nesciat? ipsos
 "Regis et satrapas ferrea vincla tenent.
 "Si leviora luti quam regia vincula ferri,
 "Est levior certe sors mea sorte sua.
 "Illos sorte sua quinquennia vincula servant,
 330 "Forsitan in triduo carcere solvar ego.
 "Flante levi Zephyro Notus in sua regna redibit,
 "Percipientque statum prata lutosum.
 "Tunc dissolventur mea per se vincula gratis,
 "Et remanebit adhuc haec mea cauda mihi.
 "Me cito privasse possem, sed poenituisse
 "Forsitan aeternum perpetuumque foret.
 "Sorte pari poterit nox una resolvere vinctam,
 "Sicut et antea una ligavit eam.
 "Non decet ut quotiens quaedam minus apta putantur,
 340 "Quod quis perpetuo jure releget ea;
 "Sed quibus obstat hiems aestatis gratia prosit,
 "Ut sua quem deicit sors aliena levet.
 "Sicque vices varias per se sua tempora mittunt,
 "Possit ut alterius alter honore frui.
 "Dulce relativum socialia foedera jungit,
 "Fortius incedunt foedera juncta sibi.
 "Quod minus alter habet, sua quem fortuna gravavit,
 "Suppleat alterius copia grata magis.
 "Nil ita praecipuum vel tam sublime creatum,
 350 "Ut non alterius possit egere manu.
 "Tempora sive vices vario discrimine certant,
 "Nec coeunt nexu foedera quaeque pari.
 "Saepe breves frutices currentia sternere plaustra
 "Vidimus et celeres detinuisse boves.
 "Saepe brevis magnas subvertit machina turres,
 "Impulsuque levi moenia summa ruunt.
 "Se premit imbre brevi violentia maxima venti,

- 360 "Atque procellosas mitigat Eurus aquas.
 "Nil contemnendum reputes, quod tempore quovis
 "Ferre vel auxilium vel nocuisse potest.
 "Vilius interdum quod carius esse putamus
 "Constat, et est majus quod minus esse putas.
 "Obstitit interdum magnis res parva periculis,
 "Terruit et rabidos parvula virga canes.
 "Urbibus in mediis incendia magna repente
 "Extingui modica saepe videmus aqua.

Commendatio caudae

- 370 "Corporis ergo mei quamvis pars ultima cauda,
 "Utilius tamen hac nil reor esse mihi,
 "Quae quamvis oneri modo sit nulloque decori,
 "Aestivo redimit tempore damna sui.
 "Unica cauda mihi plus quam duo cornua praestat
 "Tempore muscarum, plusque salutis habet.
 "Ventilat haec vespes, saevos dispergit oestros,
 "Verberat et muscas improbitate graves.
 "Cauda mihi clypeus, gladius mihi cauda, securis,
 "Lancea, funda, lapis, clava, sagitta, faces.
 "Cauda colit corpus, cutis est fidissima nutrix,
 "Pulveris abstergens quicquid adhaesit eis.
 380 "Haec lavat, haec tergit, haec omnibus una ministrat,
 "Ultima membrorum, prima labore suo.
 "Si bene pensetur, quid honoris et utilitatis
 "Contulerint dominae singula membra suae,
 "Sola suo capite membris sed et omnibus una
 "Plus valet, est et eis officiosa magis.
 "Omnibus una cavens fragilis discrimina sexus
 "Publica ne pateant, cauda pudenda tegit.
 "Haec mea cauda mihi vario pro tempore confert,
 "Quae tamen est certo tempore grata magis.
 390 "Tempora nam timeo quae sunt mihi jure timenda,
 "Nec timet incassum qui mala nota timet,
 "Cumque quid et passa sim vel passura recorder,
 "Haec ego sum semper dicere visa mihi;
 "Ecce dies veniunt veris, muscaeque resurgent,
 "Quas castigat adhuc cana pruina gelu,
 "Cum calor aestatis nimio fervore per agros
 "Sparserit omne pecus torrueritque greges;
 "Musca, gravis pestis, qua nulla nocivior unquam
 "Exstitit in mundo vel magis atra lues
 400 "Dente gravi miseras totum sparsura per orbem
 "Percutiet pecudes, nec sinet ire pedes.
 "Namque levi saltu tanquam per inane volantes
 "Morsibus et stimulis exagitabit eas.

- "Forte dies aderit in qua, ni fallor, egebit
 "Vacca sua cauda quam modo spernit ita.
 "Illa dies caudam cunctis dabit esse salubrem,
 "Et suus aestatem praevenit augur hiems.
 "Illa dies caudae faciet meminisse juvencas
 "Et steriles vaccas emeritosque boves.
 "Illa dies caudae faciet meminisse Bicornem
 410 "Qua mallet cauda non habuisse caput.
 "Illa dies caudas mundo faciet pretiosas,
 "Quae plus sunt viles quam vetus olla modo.
 "Illa dies dura multumque tremenda per orbem
 "Tanquam iudicii plena timoris erit.
 "Illa dies caudas nostras numerabit, et illa
 "Discernet pariter quae bona quaeve mala.
 "Illa dies caudas nostras discernit utrasque,
 "Quae bene mundata quaeve lutosa nimis.
 "Haec est illa dies in qua, si forte juvenca
 420 "Posset habere duas, vellet habere decem.
 "Haec est illa dies veniet qua durus oester,
 "Tortor vaccarum maximus atque boum.
 "Haec est illa dies quae muscas dente caninas
 "Morsibus et stimulis mittet in omne pecus.
 "Haec est illa dies quam praetimuisset futuram
 "Expedi armento, ne patiatur in hac.
 "O mihi! quam felix misera quae posset ab illa
 "Evasisse die, quam timet omne pecus!
 "Hanc etiam plus morte mea formido futuram,
 430 "Qua nisi cum cauda non ero tuta satis.
 "Namque graves muscae nimium fervorque diei
 "Multus erit, nec ibi quis latuisse potest.
 "Nec pecori tantum fervor muscaeque nocebunt,
 "Sed dominis pecorum pastoribusque gregum.
 "Haec est illa dies qua non aliena juvabit
 "Cauda nec alterius quid nocuisse potest.
 "Sed nec pastor ibi pecori, taurusve juvencae
 "Parve pari poterit ferre salutis opem.
 "Haec est illa dies qua nil nisi cauda juvabit,
 440 "Vel loca quae musca tangere nulla potest.
 "Haec est illa dies de qua si vera fatemur,
 "Pendet ab illius nostra salute salus.
 "Ergo licet tenear cauda breviterque coarcter,
 "Non tamen effranger ipsa dolore meo.
 "Malo per hos septem vel quinque dies cruciari,
 ("Forsitan interea tristis abibit hiems)
 "Quam praelonga nimis me fervida torreat aestas,
 "Dilaceretque meam musca canina cutem.

Qualiter Brunetta liberata est

- 450 "Talia dum memorat, modico recreata sopore,
 "Flante levi Zephyro tempora versa videt.
 "Sol calet, et superas clarus devexus in auras
 "Diffusis radiis temperat omne gelu.
 "Solvitur unda fluens, humus exhilarata tepescit,
 "Aufugit et subito cana pruina solo.
 "Et status et facies silvis redduntur et arvis,
 "Cuncta relaxantur carcere clausa prius.
 "Nec mora, consurgens caudam Brunetta retraxit,
 "Acceleransque domum carpere coepit iter.
 460 "Quam procul ut vidit sanam remeare Bicornis,
 "Ingemit, et tunso pectore, tristis ait.

Lamentatio Bicornis

- "Heu mihi! quid feci? quis me furor egit iniquus?
 "Quam nimis accelerans in mea damna fui?
 "O quam perduros habet impatientia fines!
 "Quamque solet praeceps exitus esse gravis!
 "Vae mihi! vae miserae! vae nunquam non miserandae!
 "Vae, cui nil nisi vae tempus in omne manet!
 "Vae mihi quod cunctis ego nunc animantibus una
 "Sum data ludibrio tempus in omne meum.
 470 "Cur mihi cum cauda non est mea vita recisa,
 "Ut caput et cauda continuata forent?
 "Cur non terra prius, cur non absorbuit unda
 "Fluminis aut missis ignibus usta fui?
 "Quaeque nimis praeceps, cur non mea fata secuta
 "Montibus e summis praecipitata rui?
 "Heu mihi! cur laquei circum mea guttura missi
 "Vitam cum vitio non rapuere meo?
 "Cur non mors subita vitam vel sonticus ille
 "Morbus ademisset, qui vagus esse solet?
 480 "Quid queror? una mihi superest medicina doloris,
 "Mors cita, quae sola solvere cuncta solet.
 "Nec mora quin solvat, jam formidabilis aestas
 "Imminet, exit hiems, vere vigente novo.
 "Vivet in exemplum populis moritura Bicornis,
 "Instruat ut stultos simplicitate sua.
 "Discant praecipites et quos mora nulla retardat,
 "Ne nimis accelerent in sua damna manus.
 "Nil reputet modicum modico contenta voluptas,
 "Res de postfacto quod fuit ante docet.
 490 "Nec modicum quicquam reputet, si tempore quovis
 "Fortuito casu perdere possit idem.
 "Cauda nocet capiti proprio prohibetque timeri

- "Cornua, dum metuunt posteriora sequi.
 "Quid queror incassum? mando tamen ista modernis
 "Qui post me venient, haec duo verba legant:
 "Dum superest, nihil est nihiloque minus quod habemus;
 "Cedat, et est magnum quod fuit ante nihil.
 "Nil mea cauda fuit, mihi dum conjuncta maneret,
 "Maxima sed postquam desiit esse fuit.
 "Perdere cum timeas, magnum reputare memento
 500 "Quicquid habes, modicum sit licet illud idem.
 "Desierat tandem mentis stimolata Bicornis
 "Anxietate gravi talia verba loqui.

Quid acciderit Bicorni

- "Venerat interea tempus quo fertilis aestas
 "Prata solet primo pingere flore novo.
 "Induerat jam fronde nemus, jam gramine terram
 "Texerat, intextis floribus arte pari.
 "Exierant volucres hiemis de carcere fracto,
 "Solvere finitimis digna tributa locis.
 510 "Verba negata sibi redimens philomena sonoris
 "Vocibus insistit, personat omne nemus.
 "Quos natura vocat, cum turture venit hirundo,
 "Adventusque sui tempora certa tenent.
 "Nuntius aurorae merulam comitatur alaunda,
 "Nec sua permutant tempora lege nova.
 "Semper idem repetens veteri nova tempora voce
 "Ostendit cuculus, nil novitatis habens.
 "Concentu parili vocum concordia discors
 "Intonat, et silvis organa mille sonant,
 520 "Certat odor florum cantus superare volucrum;
 "Organa vox superat, balsama vincit odor.
 "Dulce sonant silvae, redolent thymiamata campi,
 "Floribus et fructu gignit amoma solum.
 "Aestuat aestivo tellus fervore coacta,
 "Solvitur in cineres quod fuit ante lutum.
 "Terra parit culices pariuntque cadavera vermes,
 "Aera conturbat improba musca volans.
 "Ardor agit pecudes, pecudum turbator oester
 "Advolat et musca sordida, dente procax.
 530 "Per juga, per colles, per devia quaeque locorum,
 "Diruptis stabulis solvitur omne pecus.
 "Insidet armento stimulo perdurus oester,
 "Assunt et vespes, immoderata lues,
 "Saltibus et silvis currunt sine lege vagantes
 "Cum grege pastores, praecipitando gradum.
 "Uritur omne pecus, sudant animalia, passim
 "Spargitur armentum, diffugiuntque greges.

- "Brunettam sequitur pariter fugiendo Bicornis,
 "Quae quo tuta minus fortius urget iter.
 "Cui sua cauda manet muscis Brunetta resistit
 540 "Fortiter, impendens pro vice saepe vicem.
 "Ventilat hinc vespes, alias dispergit oestros,
 "Dissipat et muscas, seque tuetur ab his.
 "Aggreditur tandem miseram nudamque Bicornem
 "Turbine multiplici turba proterva nimis.
 "Haec abit, illa volat, fugit haec, comitantur et illa,
 "Hi stimulant, mordent, urget et illa pedes,
 "Quid faceret misera? quo se lugubris et amens
 "Verteret, in tantis nuda relicta malis?
 "Quod potuit fecit, licuit dum currere, cursu
 550 "Certavit celeri praecipitique pede.
 "Praevenit ala pedem vincitque volans gradientem,
 "Plus pede currentis penna volantis habet.
 "Arma gerunt pacem, qui pugnaturus inermis
 "Advenit ex facili succubuisse potest.
 "Conveniunt muscae, vespes glomerantur in unum,
 "Torvus oester adest, cuspidē, dente nocens.
 "Praecipiti cursu terras dilapsa per omnes,
 "Donec deficeret, institit ipsa pedes.
 "Nec minus egit eam caudae pudor ille retrorsum,
 560 "Quam stimuli quibus est obsita tota simul.
 "Ergo resupina tandem sub colle jugoso
 "Corruit in terram praecipitata tamen,
 "Cumque foret morti jam jam vicina, resumptis
 "Viribus ad modicum extulit illa caput.
 "Aspiciensque prope comites de morte gementes
 "Brunettamque suam talia dixit eis.

Planctus Bicornis

- "Quam gravis ista dies, quam sit memoranda modernis
 "Casibus ex nostris discere quisque potest.
 "Nec mihi mors gravis est, quoniam, si vita superstes
 570 "Esset, adhuc gravior haec mihi morte foret.
 "Dulce mori miseris, mors est mihi mite levamen,
 "Morte nihil miseris mitius esse potest.
 "Non est mors oneri, sed plus conducit honori,
 "Cum mors est talis quod cavet ipsa malis.
 "Mors invita dabit requiem quam vita negavit;
 "Nil mihi morte perit, sed relevamen erit.
 "Exemplum multis vixi moriorque futuris
 "Omnibus exemplum, non habitura modum.

Confessio Bicornis

- "Discite quam prope sit et quam vicina ruinae

- 580 "Gloria discreta quae ratione caret.
 "Impetus evertit quicquid fortuna ministrat
 "Prospera, nil stabile cui dedit ille statum,
 "Discite quam nihil est, quicquid peritura voluptas
 "Possidet, et falso praedicat esse suum.
 "Nil proprium natura dedit, communia quaeque
 "Instituit fieri, quo meliora forent.
 "Discite quae nostrae fuerint discrimina caudae,
 "Quodque necis causam contulit illa mihi.
 "Plura loqui voluit, sed lingua deficiente
 590 "Vix tantum potuit dicere, Bruna, vale!
 "Pastores igitur, ne fama periret in aevum,
 "Signarunt tali grammate busta loci:

Epitaphium Bicornis

- "Quae dum stulta fuit doctos docuisse probatur,
 "Haec postquam sapuit vermibus esca datur.

Reductio Galieni

- "Haec igitur, Burnelle, tibi quae vidimus ipsi
 "Diximus, exemplis ut docearis ab his.
 "Sufficiat quod habes; quoniam, si vera fatemur,
 "Stulta petis, salvo semper honore tuo.
 600 "Nec tamen id fieri quovis medicamine posse
 "Credideris; nihil est; stultus es; ito domum.
 "Si quot habent medici spatiosi climata mundi
 "Haec tibi jurassent, nil nisi verba forent.
 "Non tamen id renuo quin possit crescere multum
 "Haec tua cauda tibi, sed nova nulla dari.
 "Fracta vel elisa medicorum cura reformat,
 "Funditus abscisa sic remanere solent.
 "Mortua cum vivis nulla ratione cohaerent,
 "Caesa nec abscisa cura juvare potest.
 "Unde satis longa poterit tua crescere cauda,
 610 "Dummodo cum reliqua foedera carne tenet.
 "Et tamen in curis et sumptibus enumerandis,
 "Ut decet et debet, copia larga subest.
 "Ardua praegnantem poscunt medicamina bursam,
 "Res et opes magnas vulnera magna volunt.

Consilium Galieni ironice

- "Nonne tibi satis est, unam si creverit ulnam
 "Longior ex tanto quam fuit ante tibi?"
 Talibus auditis modicum subrisit asellus,
 Sic tamen audirent quod fora tota sonum,

- Cui galienus ait: "Festinans perge Salernum,
620 "Inde relaturus cura quod ista petit.
"Perge redique celer, noli tardare pedester,
"Quatuor his quintum si potes adde pedem.
"Sumptibus ergo tibi nisi tu defeceris ipse,
"Non tibi deficiet cura laborque meus.
"Sumptibus insistas, nos artibus experiemur,
"Si valeant nostrae quod valere manus.
"Accelerans igitur, usus diplomate, longum
"Abbreviabis iter, nam via longa nimis.
630 "Pluribus es notus necnon dilectus amicis
"Qui tibi subvenient magnaue dona dabunt.
"Forsitan ex facili poterunt species reperiri,
"Nec tamen ex facili credimus illa legi.
"Vasa sed et tecum portabis idonea multa,
"In quibus et referes hic habitura locum.
"Cura laborque simul solet exactissimus esse,
"Ne male depereant lecta locare bene.
"Cuncta locata bene vasisque recondita dignis
"Tractari poterunt tutius atque geri.
"Mentis hebes quamvis non sis, in pelle notabis,
640 "(Scribere nam nosti) qua specie sit opus.
"Haec sunt quae referes variis signata sigillis,
"Ne pereant obiter cura laborque tuus:
"Marmoris arvinam, furni septemPLICIS umbram,
"Quod peperit mulo mula subacta suo;
"Anseris et milvi modicum de lacte recenti,
"De lucis cursu deque timore lupi;
"De canis et leporis septenni foedere drachmam;
"Oscula quae niso misit alaunda suo;
650 "Pavonis propria libram de voce sonora,
"Ante tamen cauda quam sit adepta sibi;
"De non contexta rubra sine stamine mappa,
"Nam risus asini tu dabis ipse tibi;
"Allecis vel apum croceo de spermate libram,
"De ciroli jecore, sanguine, sive pede;
"Natalis Domini modicum de nocte salubri;
"Quae nimis est longa jure valebit ad hoc.
"In reditu de monte Jovis de vertice summo
"Accipies libras quatuor asse minus.
660 "Alpibus in mediis sancti de nocte Johannis,
"De nive quae cecidit fac simul inde feras;
"Serpentisque rubrae necnon et cauda colubrae
"Utilis est valde, nec tamen illud eme.
"Haec bene collecta sed et ista recentia quaeque
"Impones humeris sarcinulisque tuis."

Talia dicenti supplex respondit asellus

Poplite deflexo vertice pronus humi:
 "Cuncta libens faciam, celer ibo celerque revertar,
 "Nam mea res agitur, non aliena mihi.
 "Non ero tardus ad hoc, quamvis piger esse solebam,
 670 "Si dederit Dominus prospera fata mihi.
 "En ego progredior, benedic mihi progredienti,
 "Ut mihi sit tota prospera, vita, via!"
 Mox idioma suum vertens Galienus et orans
 Subridensque parum sic benedixit ei.

Benedictio Galieni data Burnello

"Omnipotens odia tibi mille det et tua cauda
 "Obtineat per se milia dena sibi!
 "Sit tibi potus aqua! sit magnus carduus esca!
 "Marmora stramenta, tegmina ros et aqua!
 "Grando, nives, pluviae tecum comitentur ubique,
 680 "Protegat et noctu cana pruina gelu!
 "Saepius exosus veniat post terga molossus!"
 Oscula dando tamen dixit asellus, Amen!
 Ingeminantis Amen vox est audita per urbem,
 Murmuriique sonum percipit omne forum.

Qualiter Burnellus profectus est

Festinans igitur, veniens in limine portae
 Haesit, et eliso corrui ipse pede.
 "Signa revertendi sunt haec," dixere propinqui;
 Riserunt alii; dixit et ipse sibi:
 "Debile principium melior fortuna sequetur.
 690 "Restat iter longum, non remanebit ita.
 "Dura satis didici postquam sum fusus ab alvo,
 "Unde satis possum plurima dura pati.
 "Non est deliciis assueta vel ebrietati
 "Haec mea persona, quae mala ferre solet.
 "Carduus et lappa constant mihi carior esca,
 "Sufficit ad potum nam pluvialis aqua.
 "In salsamentis non est meditatio mentis,
 "In tenui victu corpora nostra vigent.
 "Sum piger et tardus, sed certe tardior essem
 700 "Si mea nonnunquam lauta diaeta foret.
 "Sed neque qui debet sumptus impendere multos
 "Expedit ut crebro vina Falerna bibat.
 "Quid mihi cum vino? quo desipiunt sapientes,
 "Multaque contingunt quo mediante mala.
 "Hoc humeris non ventre suo gestare parentes
 "Consuevere mei; sit procul ergo merum!

- "Ergo gestabo sed non gustabo Lyaeum,
 "Arripiat ne me cotidiana febris.
 710 "Contra naturam vinum si forte bibissem,
 "Mox mihi quartanam gigneret aut scabiem.
 "Quatuor ex causis teneor vitare Lyaeum,
 "Quamvis sensus hebes exacuatur eo:
 "Sumptibus ut propriis parcam, ne febre laborem,
 "Et ne desipiam degeneremque simul.
 "Qui vitare malum poterit nec vult manifestum,
 "Plangendus minus est, si male cedat ei."

Qualiter Burnellus venit Salernum

- Postquam bisenas confecerat ergo diaetas,
 Ad quae tendebat moenia summa videt.
 Moxque genu flexo, sursum sua brachia tendens,
 720 Vota Deo supplex solvit et orat ita:
 "Omnipotens Dominus meritis sancti Juliani
 "Det nobis veniam hospitiumque bonum!
 "Sit procul omne malum, pontes, sportaeque gemellae,
 "Partibus in nostris quae satis esse solent!
 "Rusticus aut saccus non inveniatur in urbe!
 "Absque molendino sit locus iste, precor!
 "Sint hebetes stimuli surdi mutique molossi,
 "Sitque procul catuli vox inimica mihi!
 730 "Hospes ruricola mihi sit, cui semper abundet
 "Carduus hirsutus et pluvialis aqua.
 "Sint species viles, sit et emptor rarus in urbe,
 "Quilibet existat venditor aeris egens!
 "Sint merces multae, sit multum cara moneta;
 "Sit tempus pluvidum, sitque lutosa via.
 "Prospera sint cuncta, sint cuncta salubria nobis,
 "Ut nostrum citius expediatur iter."
 Talia commemorans, postquam pervenit in urbem,
 Se dedit hospitio membraque fessa toro.
 Surgens mane forum species empturus adivit,
 740 Quas non inveniens tristis abire parat.
 Quatuor ergo dies circumlustravit in urbe,
 Orbe quod in toto non fuit usque petens.

Qualiter Burnellus deceptus est a mercatore

- Talia quaerentem mercator Londoniensis
 Vidit, et advertens quis foret inquit ei,
 "Nuntius es magnus, quisquis te miserit istuc;
 "Maxima namque petis et pretiosa nimis.
 "Et sapiens et dives erat, quicumque ministrum
 "Huc ita te misit, res manifesta docet.

- 750 "Nam facies vultusque tuus satis indicat unde
 "Veneris aut quis sis, nec latuisse potes.
 "Magnus es, et quamvis peregrino tectus amictu
 "In propria patria non peregrinus eris.
 "O quam sollicita pro te domus est tua tota,
 "Proque tuo reditu vota precesque facit.
 "Anglia me genuit, Londonis civibus ortus
 "Praesulis huc veni nuntius ipse mei.
 "Cui quia plus aequo nasum natura retraxit,
 "Institit arte malum posse levare suum.
 "Quatuor ergo viros partes transmisit in istas
 760 "Praesul ob hanc causam conditione gravem.
 "Annus et annus abit ex quo pervenimus istuc,
 "Tresque viae comites mors tulit una meos.
 "Hic teneo species quas si fortuna dedisset
 "Posse referre domum maxima cura foret.
 "Quicquid in hac urbe venisti quaerere, totum
 "Signatum teneo depositumque domi.
 "Sumptibus assumptis alieni debitor aeris
 "Arctor, et in patriam non licet ire meam.
 "Uror amore tamen patriae, tantoque reverti
 770 "Acrius exopto quo magis ire vetor.
 "Litera certa mihi patris de funere venit,
 "Fama sed et dominum fingit obisse meum.
 "Vitrea vasa decem mihi sunt, tenus ore repleta
 "His aliisque simul quae tua charta notat.
 "Si pretium dederis quo res mihi constitit ipsa,
 "Cras potes in patriam dives abire tuam.
 "Ulterius pretio peregrinus de peregrino
 "Absit ut accipiam, rem tibi dando meam,
 "Hoc tamen excepto, quia te puto religiosum,
 780 "Ut liceat precibus participare tuis."
 Illico Burnellus pretium numeravit, et illa
 Nugis vasa decem plena recepit ibi.
 Quoque magis fieret stabilis contractus utrimque,
 Noman vendentis poscit, et ille refert.
 "Londoniis natus Gila de matre parentis
 "Nomine Truffator nuncupor ipse mei.
 "Gula mihi soror est, multis notissima regnis;
 "Est et Truffa mihi foedere juncta tori.
 "Nec minus ipse tuum nomen mihi dicere dignum
 790 "Duxeris, ut memori mente tenere queam."

Inanis jactantia Burnelli

- "Nomine Burnellus dicor," respondit asellus,
 "Notus ubique satis nomine reque simul.
 "Principibus regni necnon et regibus ipsis

- "Servio, servili conditione carens.
 "Et pater et proavus regum de more ministri
 "Semper erant et erunt tempus in omne suum.
 "Regis in obsequium successi jure paterno,
 "Indiget officio curia tota meo.
 "Obvius ipse mihi si rex quandoque feratur,
 800 "Cedit, et incedo rege ferente locum.
 "Est tamen una mihi multum contraria pestis,
 "Rusticus immitis, exitiale malum.
 "Semper enim stimulos gerit aut nodosa flagella,
 "Aut graditur canibus cinctus utrumque latus,
 "Huic pater exosus meus extitit atque parentes
 "Deque meo genere quicquid in orbe fuit.
 "Principis et procerum mores satis approbo, quorum
 "Risus, verba, jocus dulcis, amica decens.
 "Rex mihi dicit, ave! per eum dum transeo; vae! vae!
 810 "Furcifer ingeminat rusticus, orbis onus.
 "Impetat hunc scabies, hunc cotidiana perurat,
 "Ne possit vel eques ipse vel ire pedes.
 "Faucibus insideat mala gutta caputque fatiget,
 "Defluat et venter nocte dieque suus.
 "Durus ei dominus longum succedat in aevum,
 "Rixentur semper uxor et ipse simul.
 "Hunc pedis a planta summotenus ore perurant
 "Ulcera, quae scateant vermibus atque lue.
 "Hunc ego commendo Sathanae, de stercore cujus
 820 "Dicitur esse satus, quod probat ipse satis.
 "Hunc ego si possem totum delere per orbem,
 "Nullus ei fieret urbe vel orbe locus."

Qualiter Burnellus rediit

His igitur dictis patrias Burnellus ad oras
 Laetus et exultans mane redire parat.
 Crastina lux aderat, Burnellus onustus ab urbe
 Exit et exsolvit vota precesque Deo.

Qualiter Burnellus incidit in canes

- Casibus in laetis quam sit vicina ruina
 Et lapsus facilis nemo videre potest!
 Jam prope Lugdunum veniens callemque secutus
 830 Per sata transibat, nil meditando mali.
 Quem procul aspiciens quidam de Fratribus Albis,
 Quorum vicinam contigit esse casam,
 Quatuor immensos mordaci dente molossos
 Immittens in eum talia dixit ei:
 "Per sata nostra via tibi num directa videtur,

"Num nimis arcta fuit publica strata tibi?
 "Forsitan errasti, sed numquid quatuor isti
 "Non poterunt rectam te docuisse viam?
 "Per crepitas nostras, melior tibi torta platea
 840 "Calle foret recto sum nisi stultus ego.
 "Per sata nostra via quam sit directa docebo
 "Hi nisi deficient quatuor ecce mihi."
 Dixit, et instigans clamosa voce molossos
 Undique correptum fecit inire fugam.
 Serius hic, illi citius currendo retentum
 Morsibus attrectant praecipitantque solo.
 Ante tamen morsu nimium Grimbaldus iniquo
 Arripiens caudam dimidiarat eam.
 Funditus oblitus quidnam portaret et illud
 850 Quod sua praecipue vitrea vasa forent,
 Ex quo corripuit canis hunc caudamque momordit,
 Seque suumque simul praecipitavit onus.

Infortunium Burnelli

Omnia vasa simul casu periere sub uno;
 Rem fragilem potuit frangere causa levis.
 Parta labore gravi leviter cecidere, dolorem
 Perpetuum domino parturiendo suo.
 Illa remanserunt tantum quae nulla fuerunt;
 Nil nisi vasorum fragmina sola manent.
 In tenues auras substantia tota recessit
 860 Deperiere simul spesque laborque suos.
 Hinc queritur caudam Grimbaldus dimidiatam;
 Hinc dolet expensas deperiisse suas.
 Angit utrumque malum, misero satis esset et unum,
 Acrius ille gemit quem duo damna gravant.
 An labor an sumptus an cauda recisa dolori
 Debeat esse magis, dinumerare nequit.
 Nam labor est cassus, sumptus periere, recisam
 Nemo potest caudam restituisset sibi.
 Anxietas animi crescit stimulata dolore,
 870 Alternantque vices hinc dolor, inde pudor.
 Plus tamen affligit pudor hunc, comitante dolore,
 Quam faceret solus absque pudore dolor.
 Totus in ore canum miser et miserabilis ille
 Volvitur, et sola vix sibi vita manet.
 Nec prius a misero se continuere molossi
 Donec Fromundus vix cohiberet eos.
 Frater Fromundus, fratrum de more suorum,
 Non ferus, immo fera dissimulando diu;
 Ut solet illius gentis genus illud iniquum,
 880 Vix etiam tandem tendere coepit eo.

Non tamen accelerans, nisi cum pulsatur ad ollam,
Ut solet, ad mensam ventre docente viam;
Sed pede spondaico gressu gradiens asinino,
Ut solet ad laudes nocte venire, venit
Extendensque manum, dicto benedicite, ha! ha!
Dixit, et amovit corripuitque canes.

Responsio Burnelli

- Cui Burnellus ait: "Nunquam sis tu benedictus,
"Sed maledicarum tempus in omne tuum!
890 "Num Benedictus ita docuit vos, in peregrinos
"Instigare canes? Num Benedictus ita?
"Hic est ordo novus, haec est nova regula, frater,
"Observanda tibi, tradita jure novo?
"Nunquid Cisterci canon fuit iste repertus?
"Venit et hinc ad vos ordinis iste rigor?
"Numquid in hoc anno qui convenere sub uno
"Istud praeceptum constituere patres?
"Summi pontificis canibus vexare ministrum
"Nescio si vobis regula vestra jubet.
900 "Nescio si vobis liceat morti dare quenquam,
"Praecipue causa non praeunte necis.
"Pontificis summi medicamina maxima portans
"Huc ego perveni, nil meditando mali.
"Per sata transivi fateor peregrinus et hospes;
"Quo tamen erravi callis apertus erat,
"Semita magna fuit quam rebar et esse plateam,
"Tum quia lata nimis, tum quia trita satis.
"Error inest facto non praemeditata voluntas;
"Si qua fuit culpa, non nisi parva fuit.
910 "Culpa levis tanto non est plectenda rigore;
"Mitior in minimis debuit esse modus.
"Quamvis culpa foret, etiam dignissima plecti,
"Hoc plectenda modo non fuit illa tamen.
"Criminis ad pondus deberet poena rependi,
"Major poena suo crimine crimen habet.
"Summi pontificis ego nuntius atque minister
"Pacificus veni, devia forte sequens.
"Pontificis summi timor et reverentia vestrum
"Debuit ex aliqua parte levare malum.
920 "Quod tamen auxerunt; non est in partibus istis
"Qui timeat Dominum pontificemve suum.
"Non mihi sed Domino gravis est injuria facta;
"Nostram papa, suam vindicet ipse Deus.
"In dominum papam transgressio facta redundat,
"Laeditur et tanto curia tota malo.
"Horrendum facinus, tam detestabile factum,

- "Tam gravis excessus numquid inultus erit?
 "In domini papae contemptu tam manifesto
 "Roma nisi fuerit usa rigore suo,
 930 "Ut breue sit dedecus longumque decus sit amicis
 "Hostibus eueniant dedecus atque pudor,
 "Non erit ulterius quaevis metuenda potestas,
 "Sed quod cuique libet jure licebit ei.
 "Dedecus in dominum papam damnumque redundat,
 "Cetera sustineo vulnera solus ego.
 "Damnum marcarum plusquam duo millia constat,
 "Sumptibus exceptis atque labore viae.
 "Dedecus at quanti sit nescio, noverit ille
 "Ad quem spectat honor, spectat et istud onus.
 940 "Dedecus est magnum, sed summus praesul utrumque
 "Puniet ad libitum, criminis ultor erit.
 "Presulis arbitrio decus hoc damnumque relinquo,
 "Ipse tamen proprii vulneris ultor ero.
 "Magnus Burnellus quo sum ter consule natus
 "In me commissi criminis ultor erit.
 "Curia Romana quae dignis digna rependit
 "Pro meritis dignis praemia digna dabit.
 "Causa gravis, gravior persona, gravissima damna
 "Esse patet, magnum singula pondus habent.
 "In dominum papam specialiter ista redundant,
 950 "Laesus et est graviter; vulnus utrumque patet.
 "Quod gravius dicet, citius leviusque remittet;
 "Quod levius, poena sub graviore cadet.
 "Laesus honor lacrimis poterit precibusque piari,
 "Ne nimis ulcisci se videatur in hoc.
 "Damna sed illius nulla ratione remittet;
 "Mitis erit, redimi si patiatur ea.
 "Dummodo solvendo fuerit Cistercius ordo,
 "Nil sibi de toto deperiisse potest.
 "Aut decimas solvent et braccis lege perenni,
 960 "Quamvis inviti, posteriora tegent,
 "Claustra nec exhibunt, perdentque novalia passim
 "Aut tria marcarum millia plena dabunt.
 "Sortem cum poena solvent tria milia plena,
 "Et nisi festinent solvere, mille dabunt.
 "Sed quid erit de me? quaenam vindicta sequetur?
 "Qualiter ulciscar sic laceratus ego?
 "Papa quidem statuet ne quis de fratribus extra
 "Septa sui claustrum quolibet ire queat.
 "Quam si quis fuerit legem transgressus eorum,
 970 "Haec tria perpetuo jure sequantur eum.
 "Nunquam vina bibat, nisi cruda legumina gustet,
 "Sitque gravis culpae poena perennis ei.
 "Haec de jure poli faciet mihi papa libenter;

- "Sed de jure fori quid genus omne meum?
 "Istud erit quod ego faciam statuissse per orbem,
 "Si fuerit tanto tempore vita comes.
 "Istos conversos, (quos perversos magis esse
 "Constat, ut ex factis nomina certa trahant)
 980 "Ecclesiae portam quisquis conspexerit extra,
 "Mox oculos dextros auferat atque pedes.
 "Et nisi campana collo dependeat una,
 "Mentula tollatur quodque cohaeret ei.
 "Dentur eis braccæ, vinum tollatur in aevum,
 "Damneturque caro, piscis, et ova simul.
 "Sufficiant cunctis duo cocta legumina tantum,
 "Vel potius cruda, sit nisi festa dies.
 "Haec ego cuncta meos faciam stabilire parentes,
 "Ne sit in aeternum res habitura modum.
 990 "Haec etiam papa sic confirmabit in aevum,
 "Subscribetque suas curia tota notas."

Simulatio fratris Fromundi

- Talibus auditis timuit Fromundus et ultra
 Quam credi poterat obstupefactus ait:
 "Si sciat haec abbas, nec eum res tanta latebit,
 "Culleus aut certe mors mihi certa manet.
 "Quis furor impegit canibus vexare ministrum
 "Pontificis summi? non ita rebar ego.
 "Nunc opus est facto sed et hoc nimis accelerato,
 "Nunc opus auxilio consilioque mihi.
 1000 "Constat enim quod si vivens discesserit iste
 "Res nulla poterit conditione tegi.
 "Blanditiis opus est multis insistere, donec
 "Una dies veniat quae sit ad istud opus.
 "Tollere de medio decet hunc, ne tota per ipsum
 "Gens pereat nostra depereantque loca.
 "Sed nimis astute tantum scelus est faciendum,
 "Et procul a populo convenit istud agi.
 "Nam si fama loquax quicquam cognoverit inde,
 "Pejus erit multo quam fuit ante malum.
 1010 "Plus etiam fratres mihi sunt quam fama timori,
 "Nam furor illorum nescit habere modum.
 "Fama potest aliquo saltem moderamine flecti,
 "Illos cum furiunt flectere nemo potest.
 "Fratribus atque foro par est committere quicquam,
 "Prodere quod timeam vel latuisse velim.
 "Una fori facies, fratrum sunt mille, quid ergo?
 "Quod cupis occultum reddere nemo sciat.
 "Menstrua namque fides faciem cum tempore mutat;
 "Ne credas fidei, sit nisi fida tibi.

- 1020 "Qui se multorum fidei committere curat,
 "Auguror hunc leviter posse carere fide.
 "Res erit arcana, quae sunt facienda seorsum
 "Nemo sciat; satis est solus ut ipse sciam.
 "Quid moror? accedam supplex veniamque precabor,
 "Reddere promittam perdita quaeque prius.
 "Decipiam stultum, socium simulabo fidelem,
 "Committet sese credulus ille mihi."
 Dixit et accessit supplex, veniaque petita
 Plus quam perdiderat reddere spondet ei;
 Hospitiique mora longos relevare labores
 1030 Obtulit et molli membra fovere toro.
 Spondet opes, medicos, genialia festa, salubris
 Aeris accessum, quicquid et ipse velit;
 Nil deerit votis, simul et semel omne quod optat
 Accidet, accedat ipse videre locum.
 Nam prope Lugdunum Rodani conterminus undis
 Est situs arboribus consitus ille locus.
 Est alter Paradisus ibi, quia quicquid habere
 Mins humana cupit terra beata parat.
 Ipse loci dominus domui disponet, ut ejus
 1040 Sederit arbitrio, nemo rebellis erit;
 Serviet ad nutum famulus venietque vocatus,
 Quisque placebit ei, quisque sequetur eum;
 Ipse modum dicet sibi quo servire clientes
 Hos velit aut illos, nemo resistet ei,
 Nec novus hospes erit nec ut advena cras rediturus,
 Sed quasi perpetuus civis in urbe sua.
 Postulat, adjurat, hortatur et omnia spondet,
 Vimque facit precibus, voce manuque trahens.

Dissimulatio Burnelli

- 1050 Annuit ille libens, tamen hac sub conditione,
 Tollat ut e medio mors inopina canes;
 Comperiensque dolos Fromundi, dissimulare
 Rem studet et risu palliat ora levi.
 Dixit et ipse sibi secum duo verba, nec illa
 Sic tamen audiret ut suos hospes ea.
 "En aliud minans aliud meditatur asellus,
 "Eventus varios dissona vota tenent.
 "Saepe solet vitio virtus velocior esse,
 "Praevenit et morbum cura diserta gravem.
 "Fraude cadunt fraudes, falluntur et artibus artes,
 1060 "Obruiturque dolus praeveniente dolo."
 Nec mora, Fromundus, correpto fuste, molossis
 Omnibus extinctis, acceleravit iter.
 Cumque super ripam Rodani graderetur asellus,

- Et prope Fromundus subsequeretur eum,
 Cernens Burnellus quantum foret aptus iniquis
 Saltibus et subitis mortibus ille locus,
 Impulsu subito summa de rupe rejectum
 Fromundum Rodani fecit ad ima vehi.
 Interceptus aquis mortem gustavit in undis,
 1070 Evomuitque dolos pocula dante dolo.
 Sic dolus et fraudes casu periere sub uno
 Lusus et est propriis artibus ipse prior.
 Tunc cecinit carmen resonum Burnellus, et altis
 Vocibus exultans ora resolvit ita.

Canticum Burnelli

- "Cantemus, socii! festum celebremus, aselli!
 "Vocibus et votis organa nostra sonent.
 "Exultent asini, laeti modulentur aselli,
 "Laude sonent celebri tympana, sistra, chori!
 "Grimbaldus periit sociique sui perierunt;
 1080 "Mors hostes rapuit quatuor una meos.
 "Fromundus cecidit Rodani submersus in undis,
 "Lusus et est subito legibus ipse suis.
 "Incidit in laqueos frater Fromundus iniquos,
 "Quos tamen ipse sibi texuit arte sua.
 "Quem voluit sapiens stultum delere scienter,
 "Stultus et ignorans praecepitavit eum.
 "Corruit in foveam praeceps Fromundus, in illam
 "Quam manibus propriis foderat ipse prius.
 "Ne via longa foret, saltu Fromundus in uno
 1090 "Complevit cursum nescius ipse suum.
 "Saltus erat subitus, rupes praerupta deorsum,
 "Fluminis unda rapax, alveus absque vadis.
 "Quem nunquam didicit saltum docuisse probatur;
 "Non opus est alio, sufficit unus ei.
 "Exultet Rodanus celebri de laude triumphi!
 "Fromundus cecidit, florida psallat humus!"
 Mortuus est igitur postquam Fromundus et undis
 Extractus, patrio sunt data membra solo;
 Cujus busta videns cum pertransiret asellus
 1100 Flevit et inciso marmore scripsit ita.

Epitaphium fratris Fromundi

- "Fratribus exemplum frater Fromundus in aevum
 "Hunc titulum vivo cepit ab hoste suo;
 "Quem celer et sapiens stultum tardumque parabat
 "Fallere praeveniens ipse fefellit eum.
 "Sic tardus celerem, sic sic stultus sapientem

- "In saltu celeri desipuisse dedit.
 "Sic fraus fraude perit, sic ars deluditur arte,
 "Sic dolus et fraudes praemia digna ferunt.
 "Saltum Fromundi fratres memorentur iniqui,
 1110 "Par sit ut a simili nota figura mali."
 His igitur gestis patrias Burnellus ad oras
 Festinat celeri corpore, mente, pede.
 Sed quia pauper erat, expensa deficiente,
 Mendicando suum saepe retardat iter.
 Saepe suos casus secum memorando retractat,
 Dixerat et dudum quid Galienus ei,
 Quoque magis pensat propriae discrimina sortis
 Se magis accusat, sic sibi saepe loquens:
 "Non sum Burnellus sapiens, sed iners et asellus
 1120 "Semper, et in primis stultus hebesque nimis;
 "Stultus ego natus sum, stultus et ante creatus,
 "Quamque diu fuero non nisi stultus ero;
 "Stultus et ipse pater meus et stultissima mater,
 "Dat natura mihi desipuisse mea.
 "Quod natura dedit, quod tractu temporis haesit,
 "Haeret et est remanens, nec removetur idem.
 "Vah! quid ego? quis ego? qualis? quantumque pudendus?
 "Si bene perpendam, nescio quid sit ego.
 "En ego consumpsi pariter sum corpore sumptus,
 1130 "Cumque labore meo tempus et ipse meum.
 "Jamque satis senui nec adhuc nisi desipuisse
 "Me fateor facto, res facit ipsa fidem.
 "In sene sensus hebes multum solet esse pudori;
 "Ni sensus sapiant, est pudor esse senem.
 "Vertitur in risus juvenum delira senectus,
 "Nec redimunt damnum tempora lapsa suum;
 "Quantumcunque senex sapiat, tamen ecce juvenus
 "Semper delirum somniat esse senem.
 "Et si deliret quisquam pariterque senescat,
 1140 "Iudicio juvenum nil nisi stultus erit.
 "Hoc habet innatum multis comitata senectus,
 "Quo plus desipiat plus sapuisse putat.
 "Nosse satis potui verbis vultuque magistri
 "Quam mea vota forent a ratione procul.
 "Ha! quotiens voluit ea quae nocitura putabat
 "Dissuadere mihi, si licuisset ei.
 "Sed furor infelix et mens mea caeca futuri
 "Sprevit et irrisit utile quodque magis.
 "Et quid erit propriam cum mane revertar in urbem,
 1150 "Non demutata conditione mea?
 "Error posterior pejor quandoque priore
 "Esse solet; vereor posteriora mea.
 "Nonne revertentem praeses populusque videbit?

- "Nonne meos casus curia tota sciet?
 "Diceturque mihi, 'Qualis discessit ab urbe,
 "'Ecce reversus adest nil novitatis habens!'
 "Ista quidem dici possent, si quod modo non est,
 "Integra cauda foret ut fuit ante mihi.
 "Ergo quid inspecto tanto discrimine dicent?
 1160 "Num poterunt risus continuasse suos?
 "Risus ero populis, risus totius et urbis,
 "Risus erit magno cauda recisa foro.
 "Si non ante fuit populi Burnellus in ore,
 "Tunc erit, et digito quisque notabit eum.
 "Quosque loqui prohibet claustris censura, tacentes
 "Clamabunt digito, 'cauda recisa fuit.'
 "Sicque loquax digitus redimendo silentia verbi
 "Monstrabit signis dedecus omne meum.
 "Mille tibi tollent caudam totidemque remittent,
 1170 "Nec tamen accrescet vel semel una tibi.
 "Mille tibi vicibus noviter plantata resurget
 "Crescere quam faciet officiosa manus.
 "Si de tot vicibus posses, Burnelle, vel unam
 "Surripuisse tibi, quantus et ipse fores!
 "Est melius quod non redeam mutilatus in urbem,
 "Donec prisca tegam crimina sorte nova.
 "Corpus adhuc sanum superest patiensque laborum,
 "Nondum centenus sum nisi fallor ego.
 "Sum levis et fortis nec adhuc virtute solutus,
 1180 "Sensus hebes studiis exacuendus erit.
 "Pervigiles studii longa de nocte labores
 "Et caput et corpus hoc bene ferre potest.
 "Restat et annorum numerus de jure legendus
 "Plurimus, usque patri comparer ipse meo.
 "Nec sub veste leui tenuis tenere diaeta
 "Me poterit certe nec revocare domum.
 "Non mihi virga gravis puerorum more nocebit;
 "A puero didici multa flagella pati.
 "Pes vagus a studii non me revocabit amore,
 1190 "Qui magis accrescit ex gravitate mea.
 "Aetatis gravitas mihi de levitate cavebit,
 "Alleviabit onus consuetudo frequens.
 "Nec pudor annorum, quamvis puerilia discam
 "Jam senior, coget deseruisse scholas.
 "Non timor impedit vel desperatio, coeptis
 "Quo minus insistam nocte dieque meis.
 "Utque nihil timeam labor improbus omnia vincet,
 "Et Deus audaces ipse juvare solet.
 "Parisius veniam studioque vacando decenni
 1200 "Artibus insistam; non remorabor iter.
 "Postea Boloniam Domino ducente revertar,

- "Legales apices conciliare mihi.
 "Pagina divina necnon decreta laborum
 "Finis erunt, fuerit si mihi vita comes.
 "Sicque, meum nomen alio praeunte, Magister
 "Burnellus dicar nomine reque simul.
 "Si quis Burnellum non addens forte Magistrum
 "Dixerit, ille mihi publicus hostis erit.
 "Nominis ergo mei fama praeunte celebri,
 1210 "Subsequar orator publicus, absque pari.
 "Obvius adveniet populo comitante senatus;
 "Plebs ruet et dicet, 'Ecce Magister adest!'
 "Praesulis et fratrum concors sententia nostro
 "Se volet auxilio consilioque regi.
 "Illud erit stabile quod nos statuemus in urbe,
 "Verba sed et nostra legis ad instar erunt.
 "Quod minus in cauda, quod et aequo majus in aure
 "Tunc fuerit, redimet nomen honore suo.
 "Majus erit lucrum nostrum quam damna fuerunt;
 1220 "Gloria finalis crimina cuncta teget."

Qualiter Burnellus vadit Parisius, et de ejus comite in via

- Talia dum replicat, comes est sociatus eunti,
 Parisius tendens sarcinulasque ferens.
 Cui Burnellus "ave" dicto dedit oscula, quaerens
 Quis sit et unde satus, quo citus ire velit.
 Ille refert, "Siculus ego sum, cupiensque doceri
 "Parisius propero; sit via tuta, precor!"
 Cui Burnellus ait, "Tria sunt communia nobis,
 "Votum, causa, solum; sit via quarta, peto."
 Annuit Arnoldus, socioque ferenda petenti
 1230 Capsas et libros tradidit ille suos.
 Inde simul dextris sociali foedere junctis
 Parisius properant pectore, voce, pede.
 Dumque simul pergunt, socio Burnellus eunti
 Quis sit et unde refert, quae sibi causa viae,
 Quos tulerit casus, quae sit discrimina passus,
 Qualiter acciderint illa vel illa sibi;
 Qualiter a patria primo discessit et ad quid,
 Consilium dederat quod Galienus ei;
 Brunettae casus varios causamque Bicornis,
 1240 Actibus expositis tempus utrumque notans;
 Qualiter accepit a Truffatore Salerni,
 Londoniis orto, vitrea vasa decem;
 Qua ratione canes frater Fromundus in illum
 Miserit et quantum perdidit ipse miser;
 Inde canum mortem narrat saltumque sequentem
 Fratris Fromundi iudiciumque Dei;
 Addidit et titulos bustali marmore scriptos,

Nunc quoque Parisius qua ratione petat.
Talia dicenti casusque suos memoranti
1250 Reddidit Arnoldus talia dicta sibi.

Narratio Arnoldi de filio presbyteri et pullo gallinae

- "Quam variis vicibus humanae res variantur,
"Non est res facilis dinumerasse mihi.
"Quam minima causa magnum discrimen oriri
"Possit, ab effectu res manifesta docet.
"Contigit Apuliae celebri res digna relatu,
"Tempore Willelmi principis hujus avi.
"Presbyter urbanus quidam, digressus ab urbe
"Longius, agrestem coepit habere casam;
"Cui bene temporibus cunctis sua rura colenti
1260 "Multotiens segetum copia multa fuit.
"Fecerat et natos propria de conjuge, dici
"Conjux presbyteri si licet absque nota;
"Quorum Gundulfum quendam, quem vidimus ipsi
"Cum puer esset adhuc, contigit esse domi.
"Cumque foret frugum custos patris, ostia servans,
"Consuevit virgam saepe tenere manu.
"Accidit ergo semel, pullis comitantibus ejus,
"Coppa quod intraret horrea, grana legens;
"Cumque suam matrem pulli sequerentur egentes,
1270 "Ostia presserunt improbitate sua;
"Quos puer elata virga quam forte terebat
"Caedere praesumpsit atque fugare foras.
"Qui, quoniam turbatus erat, plus institit aequo,
"Transgressus verbis verberibusque modum.
"Ira furore minus modico distare videtur
"Cum nimis excedit in gravitate modum.
"Ira quid expediat dum non discernit, inique
"Plurima dispensat praecipitando gradum.
"Saepe levi jactu constat jactura perennis,
1280 "Atque levi puncto pignora cara cadunt.
"Cumque puer virgam nimis exerceret in iram,
"Contigit ut pulli tibia fracta foret.
"Tibia fracta diu pullo pariterque parenti
"Tristitiae causa non mediocris erat.
"Hinc dolor inde pudor pullum stimulabat in iram,
"Ut cuperet puero reddere posse vicem.
"Tempore crescente caro consolidata recevit,
"Obduxitque cutis vulnera veste nova.
"Ossa diu fracta iam dedidicere dolorem,
1290 "Vulneris inflicti corde tenente notam.
"Vulneris exterius satis est obducta cicatrix;
"Cruda sed interius vulnera corda tenent.

- "Jam proscripta diu proprias remeavit ad oras
 "Tibia, sed facti mens memor exul agit.
 "Pes graditur recte, femur est sine vulnere, sura
 "Nil sapit elisum, tibia sana coit.
 "Claudicat ast animus, pectus sine vulnere languet,
 "Cor queritur, mens est ulcere plena gravi.
 "Ultio suspensa, sine qua mens laesa quietis
 1300 "Nil habet, expectat pervigil ante fores.
 "Nulla quies mentis laesae nullumque levamen,
 "Dum suspensa manet ultio digna mali;
 "Non capit ex tractu longo mens laesa levamen,
 "Nil nisi vindicta pectora laesa levat.
 "Non mergus stagnum, fugientem non lupus agnum,
 "Turba canum leporem, vel fera capta fugam;
 "Nec plus piscis aquam, nec avet plus nissus alaudam,
 "Quam mens vindictam laesa videre citam.
 "Sic quoque Gundulfi pullus cupiebat iniqui
 1310 "Sumere vindictam, si locus esset ei.
 "Creverat in gallum sextum jam pullus in annum,
 "Fungens defuncti patris honore sui.
 "Creverat et multum jam jam Gundulfus in altum,
 "Jamque suo patri substituendus erat.
 "Jam nihil obstabat, jam nil deerat nisi solus
 "Ordo sacerdotis nuper habendus ei.
 "Praesul enim victus precibus meritisque beati
 "Ruffini vota censuit esse rata,
 "Constituitque diem quo sanctificatio tanta
 1320 "Debuit impendi more modoque loci.
 "Sabbata Natalem Domini praeceuntia festum
 "Terminus est positus, urbs Caraballa locus.
 "Gundulfum provehi cupiunt gaudentque parentes,
 "Jamque parant festis munera digna suis.
 "Ante diem festum genialia festa parentes
 "Ut faciant veniunt conveniuntque simul.
 "Aula patet cunctis onerantque cibaria mensas
 "Indulgentque nimis potibus atque cibis.
 "Baccus adest festo, patulo diffusus in auro,
 1330 "Exhilarans populum sanctificansque locum.
 "Nox aderat qua mane citus Gundulfus ad urbem
 "Profecturus erat, sanctificandus ibi.
 "Ad gallicantus primos iter arripiendum
 "Esse volunt, aberat nam locus ille procul.
 "Mandatur famulis tempus, praescribitur hora,
 "Qua profecturus mane citandus erit;
 "Scilicet ut studeant cantus audire priores
 "Quos dederit gallus muntius ante diem;
 "Sufficietque satis si tunc surrexerit ille,
 1340 "Nam nox longa nimis, nec grave restat iter.

- "Gallus ut haec verba vigili percepit in aure
 "Gaudet et exultat pectore, voce tacens.
 "Tanta quidem super his fuit exultatio cordis,
 "Ora quod a laude vix cohibere potest.
 "Quodque praeoptabat multum differe tacendo
 "Vocibus explosis accelerare parat.
 "Quam dolor excludit immittunt gaudia vocem,
 "Haec sua plectra monent, hic reticere iubet.
 "Inter utrumque manens neutri consentit, utroque
 1350 "Vincitur, et vincit, voce tacente tamen.
 "Jam nox tota fere fuerat consumpta bibendo,
 "Cum jam fessa mero dant sua membra toro.
 "Tempora nocturna studio delusa bibentum
 "Nec bene distincta praeteriere cito.
 "Nec mora potantum potuit noctem remorari,
 "Quin non consueta lege ligaret eos.
 "Affuit interea cantandi temporis hora,
 "Sed cantor vocem supprimit atque sonum.
 "Nox silit et cantor, poti siluere ministri,
 1360 "Pocula, nox, somnus quos vigilare vetant.
 "Admiransque diu gallina silentia galli
 "Et quod ab officio cederet ipse suo,
 "Leniter accendens sponso suggessit in aure
 "Quod jam transissent tempus et hora simul;
 "Qui respondit ita, 'Noli vexare, quiesce!
 "'Semper eris stulta; stulta, recede, precor!
 "'Vae cui stulta comes sociali foedere nupsit!
 "'Non erit illius absque dolore torus.'
 "Nec minus illa tamen nimis importuna marito
 1370 "Institit, ut noctis tempora certa notet.
 "Ille sed e contra tentans cohibere loquacem
 "Porrigit inde preces, intonat inde minas.
 "Illa tamen jurat, nisi tanta silentia solvat
 "Ille, quod illa canet concutietque domum;
 "Impatiensque morae raucas de gutture voces
 "Promit quaque potest voce sonare sonat.
 "Qua tamen audita quidam respondit eidem,
 "'Desine, Coppa, precor, nam nihil est quod agis.
 "'Quamvis gallina nocturno tempore cantet,
 1380 "'Non ideo citius lux oriunda venit.'
 "Nox ruit interea, domus ebrietate profunda
 "Tota sepulta jacet, dormit et ipse vigil.
 "Omnia somnus iners operit, Gundulfus et ipse
 "Dormit et in somnis somnia grata videt.

Somnium Gundulfi

"Ordine suscepto jam se putat esse reversum,

- "Indutusque sacris jam celebrare parat;
 "Cantorisque videt niveo sub tegmine gallum
 "Obtinuisse vices atque tenere chorum.
 "Introitus missae, quem gallus voce sonora
 1390 "Omnibus invitis intulit, iste fuit:
 "Omnia quae, domine, nobis fecisse videris,
 "'Judicio justo facta fuisse liquet.'
 "Cumque calix magnus vinoque repletus adesset,
 "Hauit et a fundo viscera tota tulit.
 "Cumque calix saperet absumptus et ipse fuisset,
 "Cetera perfecit ordine cuncta suo.
 "Sed finem missae, cum cantor debuit, 'Ite,'
 "Dicere, conticuit, signa nec ulla dedit.
 "Talibus obstupuit visis Gundulfus, et altis
 1400 "Vocibus exclamans, 'Est', ait, 'estne dies?'
 "Cui respondentes famuli dixere, volenti
 "Surgere, 'Sustineas; tempus adesse tuum
 "'Nondum cantavit gallus, qui tempora noctis
 "'Novit et assignat singula voce sua.
 "'Quamvis vellemus furari tempora, nobis
 "'Invitis gallus significaret ea.
 "'Novit enim melius quam nos discrimina noctis,
 "'Pars quota transierit, pars quota restat adhuc.
 "'Committamus ei surgendi tempora noctis,
 1410 "'Qui non dormitat sit vigil ille tuus.
 "'Nox est longa nimis, superest pars plurima nobis;
 "'Verte latus, dormi, non breve tempus habes.
 "'Nox hiemalis enim tribus est par longa diebus,
 "'Nec sub momento dissiluisse potest.
 "'Nos vigiles erimus, gallo mediante fideli,
 "'Qui quamvis vellet subticuisse nequit.'
 "Gallus ad haec tacite gallinae dixit in aure,
 "'Obses ego vobis nec fidejussor ero.
 "'Ut poterit fiat, lex est quam tessera dictat;
 1420 "'Qui jacet ille bibat, qui bibit ille luat.'
 "Dum loqueretur ita, clarum jam mane fenestras
 "Intrat, et ad rimas lux manifesta ruit.
 "Jam Phoebus radios toto diffuderat orbe,
 "Jam bobus junctis vertit arator humum.
 "Gundulfus surgens et palmis pectora tundens,
 "En, ait, 'en mallet mortuus esse modo!'
 "Et nimis accelerans, strato femoralia linquens,
 "Protinus ad stabulum sternere currit equum.
 "Frenum cum sella transacta nocte bubulci
 1430 "Transtulerant, solito nec fuit illa loco.
 "Insiliit ille tamen, frenum redimente capistro,
 "Nec redit ad patrem quo benedicat ei.
 "Fortiter elisus cursu dum transvolat urbem

- "Corruit in terram, largus aberrat equus.
 "Institit ergo pedes, sed cum pervenit in urbem,
 "Ordinibus factis serior hora fuit.
 "Omnibus expletis praesul secesserat aris,
 "Nec locus exstabat nec fuit hora super.
 1440 "Lectio tota fuit perlecta, legensque 'Tu autem',
 "Dixerat, et pueri vox resonarat 'Amen',
 "Quid faceret Gundulfus ad haec? medicina dolori
 "Restabat nulla quam remeare domum.
 "Ergo domum propere tristis multumque pudore
 "Confusus rediit, flensque gemensque satis.
 "Hinc pater inde parens cum tota prole parentum
 "Gundulfum plangunt pectore, voce, manu.
 "Confusi redeunt qui convenere parentes,
 "In lacrimas etenim gaudia versa vident.
 1450 "Arguit hic vigiles, causatur et ille bibentes,
 "Impetit hic gallum, damnat et ille merum.
 "Talibus auditis nido gallina relicto
 "Exiit et gallo talia verba refert.

Querimonia gallinae

- "Gundulfus noster rediit frustratus ab urbe
 "Tristis et in lacrimas totus abire parat.
 "Et pater et genetrix fratres miseraeque sorores
 "In lacrimas abeunt; omnia luctus habet.
 "Quamvis Gundulfus laqueo suspensus obisset,
 "Non possent ejus funera flere magis;
 1460 "Imponuntque tibi culpam discriminis hujus,
 "Sis quasi totius causa caputque mali.'

Sententia galli

- "Talia dicenti gallus respondit, 'Iniquam
 "Non puto sed dignam pro vice ferre vicem.
 "Pullus eram quando, Gundulfo percutiente
 "Tibia fracta fuit, ipse recordor adhuc.
 "Materiam prior ipse mihi causamque doloris
 "Intulit, indicio tibia fracta manet.
 "Ipse prior risit, dum vulnera nostra dolerent,
 "Nunc ego derisum rideo lege pari.
 1470 "Sic variat fortuna vices, sic gaudia luctus
 "Occupat, excelsa sic cecidisse solent.
 "Exoptata diu dulcis medicina dolorum,
 "Sero licet veniat, grata venire solet.
 "Nunquam sera venit morbi medicina cruenti,
 "Quolibet antidoto dummodo curet eum.
 "Quae venit ex facili, nullo praeceunte labore,

- "Ultio delicti, dulcior illa venit.
 "Laetus ab hoste meo victor sine caede triumpho,
 "Ultus et est animus ore tacente meo.
 "Bella gerant alii, sint nostra silentia nobis,
 1480 "Voce tubisque tonent, nos tacuisse iuvat.
 "Quo levius nobis cessit victoria belli,
 "Victoria tanto gloria major erit.
 "Non opus est armis ubi vox suppressa triumphat;
 "Qui bene dissimulat et tacet, ille sapit.
 "Hostibus ergo meis lacrimae pro sanguine stillent,
 "Vulneris obtineant ira dolorque vicem.
 "Vulnus enim cordis dolor est, graviusque perurit
 "Intima quam gladius exteriora secat.
 "Exterioris enim levis est medicina doloris,
 1490 "Sed vix aut nunquam saucia corda vigent.
 "Serius admittit animus solatia laesus
 "Quam medicinales saucia membra manus.
 "Vix ea fatus erat gallus, cum morte soluti
 "Cesserunt pariter hinc pater inde parens.
 "Mox, patre defuncto, patris est Gundulfus ab aede
 "Pulsus, et externis tradita tota domus.
 "Gundulfusque miser, pauper, mendicus et omni
 "Auxilio vacuus cessit ab urbe procul.
 "Mansit apud multos tamen hoc memorabile factum,
 1500 "Hocque patres natis saepe referre solent,
 "Ut memores facti sic se moderentur ubique,
 "Ne de post facto paenituisse queant."

Qualiter Burnellus venit Parisius et quid fecerit ibi

- Talia cum pariter gradientes plura referrent,
 Parisius subeunt hospitiumque petunt.
 Corpora fessa quies recreat, tenuisque diaetae
 Damna recompensat mensa calixque frequens.
 Ossa, cutem, nervos, quae vel labor aut via longa
 Quassarat, refovent balnea, cura, quies;
 Burnellusque sibi minuit crinesque totondit,
 1510 Induit et tunica se meliore sua.
 Pexus et ablutus tandem progressus in urbem
 Intrat in ecclesiam, vota precesque facit.
 Inde scholas adiens secum deliberat utrum
 Expediat potius ista vel illa sibi.
 Et quia subtiles sensu considerat Anglos,
 Pluribus ex causis se sociavit eis.
 Moribus egregii, verbo vultuque venusti,
 Ingenio pollent consilioque vigent.
 Dona pluunt populis et detestantur avaros,
 1520 Fercula multiplicant et sine lege bibunt.

- Washeyl et drinkheyl necnon persona secunda,
Haec tria sunt vitia quae comitantur eis;
His tribus exceptis nihil est quod in his reprehendas;
Haec tria si tollas, cetera cuncta placent.
Nec tamen haec ita sunt semper reprobanda, quod illis
Esse locus nequeat tempore sive loco.
Nam duo praecipue sunt exclusiva dolorum,
Laetitiaeque vias insinuare solent;
Tertia res cohibet, quo dicitur esse referta
1530 Gallia fermentum ne nocuisse queat.
Hinc comes Angligenis prudens desiderat esse,
Possit ut illorum conditione frui.
Est in eis etiam quiddam (ceu publica fama
Somniat) adjungi cur magis optet eis,
Si de convictu mores formantur eidem,
Cur nihil accrescat si comes esse queat?
Si quid eis praeter sortem natura ministrat,
Ante retrove bonum cur nihil inde ferat?
Accelerans igitur studio studiosus adhaesit,
1540 Ut discat lepide grammaticaeque loqui.
Sed quia sensus hebes, cervix praedura, magistri
Dogmata non recipit, cura laborque perit.
Jam pertransierat Burnellus tempora multa,
Et prope completus septimus annus erat,
Cum nihil ex toto, quodcunque docente magistro
Aut socio, potuit discere praeter hy ha.
Quod natura dedit, quod secum detulit illuc,
Hoc habet, hoc illi nemo tulisse potest.
Cura magistrorum multumque diuque laborans
1550 Demum defecit, victa labore gravi.
Dorso se baculus, lateri se virga frequenter
Applicat, et ferulam sustinere manus.
Semper hy ha repetit, nihil est quod dicere possit
Affectus quovis verbere praeter hy ha.
Vellicat hic aurem, nasum quatit ille recurvum,
Excudit hic dentes, perforat ille cutem.
Hic secat, hic urit, hinc solvitur, inde ligatur
Intonat iste minas, porrigit ille preces.
Sic in eo certant ars et natura vicissim,
1560 Ars rogat, illa jubet, haec abit, illa manet.
Quorum principia constant vitiosa fuisse,
Aut vix aut nunquam convaluisse valent.
A puero didicit Burnellus hy ha; nihil ultra
Quam quod natura dat retinere potest.
Quod fuit innatum servat natura, quod artis
Sic abit, ut vento pulvis abire solet.
Perdidit expensas, periit labor omnis et omne
Quod fuit impensum conditione pari.

Spes quoque deperiit caudae superinstituendae,
 1570 Sensit et Anglorum carmina falsa fore.

Confessio Burnelli prae angustia

Ergo recordatus tandem Burnellus ineptae
 Damna juventutis se reprehendit ita:
 "Heu mihi, quid vixi? quis me furor egit, ut istas
 "Aggrederer partes Parisiique scholas?
 "Quid mihi cum studio cunctoque labore petito?
 "Nonne satis potuit esse Cremona mihi?
 "Alpibus emensis et post mea terga relictis
 "Stultus in extremis partibus orbis agor.
 "Ut quid in has partes patriaque domoque relictis
 1580 "Trans Rodanum veni, regna videre nova?
 "Quae mihi cura fuit per tanta pericula mortis
 "Cernere Francigenas Parisiique scholas;
 "Nosse vel Angligenas largos Gallosque tenaces,
 "Hos calices, illos multiplicare minas?
 "Appulus huc veni, sed Gallicus ecce revertor;
 "Burnellusque tamen qui fuit ante manet.
 "Hic nihil addidici, modicumque quod ante sciebam
 "Hic ego me totum dedidicisse scio.
 "Gallica verba duo tantum retinere loquique
 1590 "Si possem, certe gratia magna foret.
 "Quod si forte tria vel multum quatuor essent
 "Par Jovis aut major crederer esse Jove;
 "Italiam facerem tanto trepidare timore,
 "Quod mihi rex ipse certa tributa daret.
 "Tunc ego Parisius in vanum non adissem,
 "Si subjecta foret sic mea terra mihi.
 "Non modo vadit ita; longe mea stamina Parcae
 "Neverunt aliter quam mea vota forent.
 "Dura mihi certe multum mea fata fuerunt,
 1600 "Quae mala multa mihi nilque dedere boni;
 "Quod satis apparet, quia toto pejor in orbe
 "Non est conditio conditione mea.
 "Sensus hebes meus est et saxo durior omni,
 "Durius hoc pectus est adamante meum,
 "Cor, caput, et cerebrum sunt ponderis atque metalli
 "Ejusdem, plumbo nam graviora magis.
 "Ferre crura mihi, latus est quasi lamina ferri,
 "Non est in toto corpore vena puto.
 "Aenea ceu pelvis cutis est mea, quae tamen ictus
 1610 "Excipit incassum, nam nihil inde dolet.
 "Non ego verberibus, non per maledicta perire
 "Possum, malleolis vix puto posse mori.
 "Cur mea me mater maledicto fudit ab alvo?

"Cur gladio jugulum non dedit ipsa meum?
 "Tristis abortivum si me peperisset, in aevum
 "Quam fortunata quamque beata foret!
 "Cur lupus esuriens partes non venit in illas,
 "Tolleret ut partum dum tener esset adhuc?
 "Cui mea me mater primis devovit in annis,
 "Atque venire citum saepe rogavit eum;
 "Huic ego pro certo non solum praeda futurus,
 "Esca sed et rapidis auguror esse lupis.
 "Nam celer eventus, si fas est credere famae,
 "Maternis precibus semper adesse solet.

Somnium Burnelli

"Quoque magis moveor, me certa pericula terrent,
 "Praeterita nocte somnia visa mihi.
 "Nam pater et mater Domino pro me prece fusa
 "Orabant, et in haec verba fuere preces.
 "Eto, Deus, nobis clemens et ab ore luporum
 "Eripe Burnellum, facque redire domum.
 "Sanus et incolumis patrias peregrinus ad oras
 "Burnellus redeat, liber ab ore lupi.
 "Non leo, non pardus, nec peste nocentior omni
 "Rusticus obsistat vel dominetur ei.
 "Transeat immunis per compita quaeque viarum,
 "Olfactu careat bestia quaeque suo.
 "Sit canis elinguis, catulo non calleat auris;
 "Currere ne possit sit mala gutta lupo;
 "Quem quia nos aliis plus formidamus, ab ipso
 "Protege Burnellum, facque redire domum.'
 "Unde per antiphrasim quia somnia saepe resolvi
 "Consuevere, magis mens mea visa timet.
 "Qualia cernuntur nocturno somnia visu,
 "Talia non debent mane sequente sequi.
 "Sed vice conversa sunt exponenda vicissim
 "Atque per antiphrasim somnia, crede mihi.
 "Si bona vidisti, tunc aspera multa sequentur;
 "Si mala, non dubites prospera multa sequi.
 "Sic mea consuevit exponere somnia mater,
 "Sicut erat prudens atque diserta nimis,
 "Mater ob hanc causam litem cum patre frequenter
 "Instituit, super his plurima verba serens,
 "Ipse tamen matri semper contraria sensit,
 "Et sua dicebat dogmata falsa fore;
 "Utpote qui fuerat astrorum lege peritus,
 "A puero doctus signa notare poli.

Sententia Burnelli

- "Sed quodcunque mei super his sensere parentes,
 "Mens mea tota tremit, plena timore novo.
 "Cur tamen hoc timeam? cum non sint jure timenda
 1660 "Quae nequeunt alio stare vel ire modo.
 "Fata, nec id dubito, quicquid statuere futurum
 "Eveniet; contra nemo venire potest.
 "Rebus in humanis ceu decrevere futurum
 "Fata, quod eveniat semper oportet ita.
 "Nemo sui fati vel devitare tenorem
 "Vel mutare potest; ergo nec ipse mei.
 "Et tamen ignoro quae sunt mea fata futura,
 "Prospera vel dura, seu mala sive bona.
 "Pontificem forsitan me constituere futurum,
 1670 "Inque mea patria sedis honore frui.
 "Nam miranda solent magis his contingere mundo,
 "Quam mihi contingat pontificale decus.
 "Et si contingat me pontificalibus uti,
 "Quo poterit capitis mitra sedere loco?
 "Auribus erectis, ceu mos est pontificalis,
 "Nullus erit mitrae de ratione locus.
 "Praesulis in mitra non est sua tota potestas,
 "Quamvis officii signa sacra gerat.
 "Inter eos igitur non est discretio mitrae,
 1680 "Immo potestatis quae comitatur eam.
 "Mitra caput nostrum sine munere pontificali
 "Nulla deaurabit, auxiliante Deo.
 "Mitra nec ascendet caput hoc neque cornua sumam,
 "Si non affuerit quod solet inde sequi.
 "Cetera cum desint quae sunt comitantia mitrae,
 "Quid juvat hac sterili conditione frui?
 "Plenus praesul ero, quia pontificalibus uti
 "Nolo velut mulus, sed volo sicut equus.
 "Annulus abbatis et mitra sophistica semper
 1690 "Sit procul a nobis, et decus absque Deo!
 "Abbatum steriles mitras, quas nulla sequuntur
 "Chrismatis officia, non probo, sintque procul.
 "Gignere cum nequeat, sua sic genitalia gestat
 "Mulus et est sterilis tempus in omne suum.
 "Cum rem non habeant, sua sic insignia portant
 "Hi qui nomen habent officioque carent.
 "Absit ut ascendam vel talia cornua sumam,
 "Qualia sumpserunt ille vel ille sibi.
 "Integer et plene totus volo pontificari,
 1700 "Ut non sit sine re nomen habere rei.
 "Nomen habent sine re qui sic sibi cornua sumunt,
 "Et nihil ulterius exhibuisse valent.

- "Absit ut hoc faciam vel sic mihi cornua sumam,
 "Cornua multiplici praemutiliata modo.
 "Auribus esse meis contentus malo duabus,
 "Quam duo sic nasci cornua posse mihi.
 "In quibus excellunt quoniam patiuntur eclipsim
 "Mulus et abbates sunt in honore pares.
 "Qui ne pontifices fiant sunt apocopati,
 1710 "Ut sint abbates syncopa mitra facit;
 "Re sine nomen habent, insignia menstrua portant,
 "In quibus effectus nominis omnis abest.
 "Non ita Burnellus capiet sibi nomen honoris;
 "Non sinet imponi cornua vana sibi,
 "Mulus ab obsequio vel lingua praeambula voti
 "Aut immunda manus non maculabit eum.
 "Non erit intrusus, foedo cum Symone foedus
 "Non paciscetur, praemia nulla dabit.
 "Sed neque promittet, quia nunquam cauteriatam
 1720 "Mentem sed sanam praesulis esse decet.
 "Non prece, nec pretio sed nec terrore potentum
 "Burnello veniet pontificale decus.
 "Ingrediar simplex et sana mente; sin autem,
 "Praesul in aeternum non ero, crede mihi.
 "Ordine legitimo gradiar cleroque vocante
 "Ingrediar, ne quis me reprobare queat;
 "Ne, postquam fuero tanto donatus honore,
 "Dicere quis possit, impropere mihi:
 "Sic ascendisti, sic es promotus et a me,
 1730 "Sic es et ingressus, pastor, ovile tuum.
 "Ut praesul fieres, pepigisti talia nobis;
 "Esto memor verbi, cur facis haec vel ita?
 "Pontificis vita liber est, quem jure legendum
 "Sumere quisque sibi debet, eamque sequi.
 "Pontificis mores clerus populusque fidelis
 "Debet in exemplum semper habere sibi.
 "Nil in eo vitii nil non virtutis haberi
 "Condecet, ut forma sit gregis ipse sui.
 "Non leviter liget aut solvat, quaecunque potestas
 1740 "Fit pretiosa minus, ex levitate sui;
 "Simplex non duplex, blandus non blaesus, honori
 "Non oneri studeat civibus esse suis.
 "Qui sua largiri debet, non hunc aliena
 "Quolibet obtentu diripuisse decet.
 "Nam nisi sit simplex oculus mentis, tenebrosum
 "Totum corpus erit totaque vita sequens.
 "Si quod habet mundus totus virtutis, in unum
 "Pontificem veniat, vix reor esse satis.
 "Quicque tenetur ad hoc sit ut omnibus omnia factus,
 1750 "Quidnam virtutis debet abesse sibi?

- "Non odium vel amor hebetent rationis acumen,
 "Non oculum cordis faex nebulosa tegat.
 "Non caro, non sanguis quae sunt facienda revelet
 "Primum pontifici, Spiritus immo Dei.
 "Nil faciat quod amor carnis vel suaserit ira,
 "Haec quia praecipitat, ille trahendo ligat.
 "Sit baculus claudō, sit caeco lumen, egenti
 "Copia, spes lapso, consiliumque reo.
 1760 "Introeant ad eum dolor et gemitus viduarum,
 "Pauperis et lacrimam iudicet esse suam.
 "Causa pupillorum sua sit, sibi credat adeptum
 "Quod non abstulerit pauper ab aede sua.
 "Non inopem spernat, vultum venerando potentum,
 "Est hominis faciem cernere, corda Dei.
 "Non sit captator famae popularis ineptae,
 "Non studeat mundo sed placuisse Deo.
 "Namque quid est aliud quam ventus et aura recedens
 "Laus populi, celebris fama, favorque brevis?
 1770 "Quid iuvat ad famam populi sibi conciliandam
 "Tollere pauperibus divitibusque dare?
 "De lacrimis inopum ventrem satiare potentum,
 "Nescio quem laudis debet habere locum.
 "Sanius est famam, dum non de jure laboret,
 "Spernere quam redimi conditione gravi.
 "Multi dum laudes hominum venerantur ad horam,
 "Infames fieri promeruerunt diu.
 "Ad laudes hominum vanas sibi conciliandas
 "Qui nimis aspirat insipienter agit.

Stulta gloriatio Burnelli

- 1780 "Ergo cum fuero praesul promotus in urbe,
 "In toto mundo par mihi nullus erit.
 "Obvius exhibit populus mihi totus ab urbe,
 "Dicet et obstipo vertice, 'Praesul, ave!'
 "Quid mea tunc mater, cum me benedicere clerum
 "Viderit et populum, dicere quaeso potest?
 "Exhilarata diem tempus benedicet et horam,
 "Qua peperit natum me benedicta suum;
 "Et pater ille meus quanto gaudebit honore,
 "Cum dominum dicent pontificisque patrem?

Reversio Burnelli in se

- 1790 "Forsitan emeritos patrem matremque videre
 "Rusticus accedet excutietque caput,
 "Dicet et occulto (quoniam versutior usque
 "Ad mare non poterit esse repertus eo):

- 1800 "Magna puer vidi, sed adhuc majora videbo
 "Si fuero sospes et mihi vita comes.
 "Tempora Burnelli modo sunt; quandoque fuerunt
 "Alterius; vicis est non habuisse vicem.
 "Praesule defuncto modo plurima sunt in honore,
 "Quae tunc alterius conditionis erant.
 "Ejus et ipsa parens quae nunc communia spernit,
 "Auguror, assuetum prona subibit onus.
 "Deferet et saccum pater ejus, ut ante solebat,
 "Desinet et dici praesulis esse pater.
 "Plurima multotiens quae vidimus atque videmus
 "Sustineamus adhuc, nec moveamur in his.'

Narratio Burnelli de ingratitude praepositi civitatis

- 1810 "Est quoque quod timeo, quoniam de jure timere
 "Debeo, nam modicum quid nocuisse potest.
 "Urbis praepositus, fuerit nisi forte coactus,
 "Non me suscipiet, congrua causa subest.
 "Namque meo patri saccum summamque farinae
 "Surripuit furto, res bene nota fuit.
 "Rumor erat celebris, vicinia tota sciebat,
 "Urbs est tota mihi testis, et ipse Deus.
 "Condixere sibi nostri genitoris in aulam
 "Tres pariter cives, tertius ille fuit.
 "Nequiter et noctu venientes tollere plura
 "Proposuerunt sibi si licuisset eis,
 "Primus equum tulit, alter ovem, tulit ille farinam,
 "Qui modo praepositus extat in urbe sua.
 1820 "Aggressique domum cum iam remeare pararent,
 "Certantes subita dissiluisse fuga,
 "Nescio sive pedum strepitu casuve molossi
 "Exciti veniunt praepediuntque viam.
 "Acceleransque pater praevenit eos, et in arcta
 "Vincula conjecit compedibusque dedit.
 "Mane quidem facto cives venere vocati,
 "Hique quibus fuerant tradita jura fori.
 "Carcere producti manibus pedibusque solutis
 "Stabant, quisque suum turpe tenebat onus;
 1830 "Quos timor exsanguis, quos et pudor ipse parentum
 "Fecerat elingues immemoresque sui.
 "Infitiando diu tandem coepere fateri,
 "Quos tamen ante satis constitit esse reos.
 "Crimina confessos populus decrevit iniquos
 "In cruce suspendi, quam meruere sibi.
 "Tota nocte cruces famuli funesque parabant,
 "Debuit et mane quisque subire suam;
 "Cum mihi quae mecum miseratio crevit ab alvo

- "Suggestit, miseris ut misererer eis;
 "Non tamen oblitus vulgi memorabile verbum,
 1840 "Quod solet ex tali conditione sequi
 "Inter mille viros erit ille nocentior hostis,
 "Quem te constiterit surripuisse cruci.
 "Sed tamen his spretis tandem miseratio mentem
 "Vicit et evicit me pietatis amor.
 "Clavibus ergo patris clam sumptis clamque relatis
 "Rem grandem feci quamque recorder adhuc.
 "Carceris e fundo fures de nocte, solutis
 "Compedibus, solus et sine teste tuli.
 "Nam si forte nefas tantum sciretur in urbe,
 1850 "Protinus inflicta debita poena foret.
 "Sicque recedentes nostro mediante labore
 "Evasere simul verbera, verba, cruces;
 "Quosque meis humeris, ne forsitan alter adesset
 "Conscius, exposui trans vada transque vias.
 "Tres simul atque semel ne quis remaneret eorum
 "Impositos humeris longius ipse tuli.
 "Nec, postquam ferre didici mala pondera, pondus
 "Me memini tale tamque tulisse grave.
 "Quisque satis per se fuerat grave pondus, in unum
 1860 "Quanto collecti plus nocuere mihi.
 "Annis quingentis si vixero, ponderis hujus
 "Prae gravitate mihi corpore pejor ero.
 "Ponderis illius, quia me tulit inde deorsum,
 "Quin memor existam non erit ulla dies.
 "Malo tamen miseros nostro servasse labore
 "Quam non servatos exposuisse cruci.
 "Cumque vale facerent et fletibus ora rigarent,
 "Talis prostrati vix valueret loqui.
 "Ecce tui, domine Burnelle, per omnia servi
 1870 "Hic et in aeternum tres sumus ecce tui.
 "Tu dare nos poteris, tu vendere tuque vocare
 "Quo tibi cumque placet, et veniemus eo.
 "Tu tribus his miseris veniam vitamque dedisti,
 "Sed data non nostra sed tua semper erit.
 "Nostrum quisque tibi servus remanebit in aevum,
 "Tempore nec quovis desinet esse tuus.
 "Jure tuus debet, tuus, immo tuissimus esse,
 "Quem tu salvasti carcere, fune, cruce.
 "Quemque tuis humeris dignatus es ipse magister
 1880 "Et dominus ferre, non erit ille tuus?
 "Absit ut ille tuus non sit, qui nec suus esse
 "Posset in aeternum, si tibi velle foret.
 "Et si vita comes fuerit, nos retribuemus
 "Hac tibi condignam pro vice jure vicem.
 "Quam bene reddemus tanti benefacta laboris,

- "Si dominus dederit posse referre vicem!
 "Detque Deus nobis tempusque locumque, nec ante
 "Quam tibi reddamus det potuisse mori.'
 "Ista satis memini quoniam dixere ruentes
 1890 "Saepius in terram, 'Tres sumus ecce tui!'
 "Neve nefas patri populoque pateret et urbi,
 "His ita dilapsis, mox ego vincla tuli.
 "Et (mea culpa, miser, miser, et mea maxima culpa),
 "Coelitus asserui singula rupta fore;
 "Quodque Dei sanctus veniens Leonardus eorum
 "Vincula solvisset quodque tulisset ea.
 "Hinc igitur vereor ne vulgi verba secundum
 "Praepositus reddat facta priora mihi,
 "Proque bonis satagat mala reddere, meque prioris
 1900 "Ob causam meriti nolit habere parem.
 "Non desperarem super his nec jure timerem,
 "Conscius admissi criminis ipse sui,
 "Insita si misero generosi sanguinis illi
 "Naturae studio stilla vel una foret.
 "Nam solet hoc proprium generosi sanguinis esse,
 "Condignam meritis reddere velle vicem.
 "Contra naturam niti moresque caninos
 "Quam sit difficile dicere nemo potest.
 "Stigmata naturae servilis conditionis
 1910 "Tollere nec medicus nec medicina potest.
 "Semper ab effectu quae sit natura vel unde
 "Venerit ostendit, nec latuisse potest."

Discessus Burnelli a civitate Parisiensi

- Talia Burnellus secum meditatus ab urbe
 Parisius statuit mane referre pedem.
 Erge vale facto sociis et flentibus illis
 Omnibus exit, abit, acceleratque gradum.
 Montis in ascensu positus, post terga relictam
 Parisium cernens, obstupefactus ait:
 "Sancta Maria, Deus, crux Christi, me benedicat!
 1920 "Hac in valle situs quis locus esse potest?
 "Haec est Roma, puto, magnis circumdata muris!
 "Urbs ita turrita quid nisi Roma foret?
 "Atque quid esse potest aliud quam Mons Jovis iste?
 "Sancta Maria Deus! est ita Roma prope?
 "Urbs in qua studui, cujus modo nomen ab ore
 "Fugit et a corde, vae mihi talis erat?
 "Ergo domum repetens patri matrique roganti
 "Quonam profitear me studuisse loco?
 "Me fore trutannum, me nil didicisse parentes
 1930 "Dicent et sumptus deperiisse suos.

"Ergo revertar ego, nomen quod nescio discam,
 "Ne rudis in patria praedicer esse mea.
 "Non nihil illud erit, cum nomina certa locorum
 "Dixero, confirmans me tenuisse scholas;
 "Et si nesciero vel nomina sola referre,
 "Quicquid ego dicam credere nemo volet."

De silentio Burnelli

Talia dicenti jam jamque redire volenti
 Rusticus adveniēns obuius inquit ei:
 "Parisius quae causa tibi, Burnelle, petendi?
 1940 "An docuisse venis? an didicisse tibi?"
 Nomine Parisius statim Burnellus adepto
 Vertit iter, retinens nomen in ore suo.
 Quod ne perdat item casu studiove loquendi,
 Accidat et rursum sicut et ante sibi,
 Nil omnino loqui statuit ter quinque diebus
 Excepto solo nomine Parisius;
 Quicquid contingat, quicumque salutet euntem,
 Nil respondebit, sed quasi mutus erit.

Qualiter Burnellus violavit silentium suum

Contigit interea quod, cum completa fuisset
 Religione sub hac jam duodena dies,
 1950 Quidam romipeta peregrinus ab urbe Vienna
 Alpius in mediis se sociavit ei,
 Accedensque prope dixit: "Reverende magister,
 "Sit Dominus tecum! sit tibi mane bonum!
 "Prospera tota dies succedat, vespere clarum,
 "Hospitium gratum noxque quieta tibi!"
 Sed Burnellus adhuc indicta silentia servans
 Nil respondit ei verba nec ulla dedit;
 Sed tamen inclinat supplex verboque salutis
 1960 Nutibus et signis annuit ore tacens.
 Hospitium subiere simul, quo fessa diurno
 Membra labore suo nocte dedere toro;
 Cumque 'Pater Noster' peregrinus in ore frequenter
 Volveret, exorans sollicitansque Deum,
 Evigilans Burnellus ait: "Solum quod habebam
 "Verbum surripuit vox peregrina mihi.
 "Syllaba consimilis verbi totiens repetiti
 "Surripuit verbum quod fuit ante mihi.
 "Quique 'Pater Noster' totiens iteravit, eodem
 1970 "Me nimis intentum reddidit ille sibi.
 "Perque suum simile verbum peregrinus inique
 "Me supplantavit, et mea verba tulit.

- 1980
- "Sanius est, memini, socialia foedera rumpi
 - "Quam cum collega foedus inisse malo.
 - "Hoc satis ante mihi damni praesaga futuri
 - "Mens mea praedixit, vera propheta nimis.
 - "Verbum pro verbo proprium mutans alieno
 - "Destruo septenni parta labore gravi.
 - "Verbum quod periit nostrum verbo peregrini
 - "Par fuit in parte principioque sui;
 - "Finis erat dispar, quem si meminisse valerem
 - "Me satis inferior Jupiter ipse foret.
 - "Centum vel mille solidos si dives haberem,
 - "Vellem sub tali conditione dare,
 - "Nominis amissi vix syllaba prima remansit,
 - "Quod superest reliquum desiit esse meum.

Consolatio Burnelli

- 1990
- "Est aliquid melius quam nil tenuisse, tenebo
 - "Quae superest tantum syllaba prima mihi.
 - "Partem pro toto poni docuere diserti,
 - "Dummodo sic maneant sufficit una mihi.
 - "Nec totum superest, ubi pars est una recisa,
 - "Nec totum periit, parte manente sui.
 - "Praestat de toto partem retinere vel unam,
 - "Qualemcumque tamen quam retinere nihil.
 - "Plures non poteram forsitan retinere, sed unam,
 - "Pluribus elapsis, hanc retinebo bene.
 - "Artibus ex septem si syllaba sola supersit,
 - "Hoc mihi non nihil est nec reor esse parum.
 - "Et quia multotiens errare scientia multos
 - "Fecit et inflatos praestitit esse magis,
 - "Litera ne lapsum pariatque scientia damnum,
 - "Sufficit una mihi syllaba, nolo magis.
 - "Taedia nonnunquam generosa scientia gignit,
 - "Et faciunt apices moribus esse graves.
 - "Saepius in paucis melius natura ministrat,
 - "Exerit et vires fortius ipsa suas.
 - "Contenti paucis studiis brevitatem juvantur,
 - "Opprimit et sensum sollicitudo frequens.
 - "Scire quidem multa, nisi sit bene scire, scienti,
 - "Ut verum fatear, non honor est sed onus.
 - "Paucula de multis multi rapuere, scientes
 - "Ut videantur in his omnibus esse suis.
 - "Est quoque scire labor, labor est etiam retinere;
 - "Est didicisse labor, est docuisse labor.
 - "Quoque magis moveor, quia nulla scientia mortem
 - "Qualibet arte sua dedocuisse potest.
 - "Nonne timor mortis toto dominatur in orbe?
- 2000
- 2010

- "Omnibus et solis istud inesse solet.
 "Omnia lance pari partitur et omnibus uno
 2020 "Pondere distribuit dura sed aequa nimis.
 "Hanc ego non possum nisi praetimuissse futuram,
 "Ex improviso ne mihi dicat, Abi."

Compunctio Burnelli

- "Hinc ego disposui me tradere religioni,
 "Ut valeat salvus spiritus esse meus.
 "Utque senex redimam juvenalia tempora, vitam
 "Fas est ut satagam corripuisse meam.
 "Quod superest modicum vitae, ne tota deorsum
 "Defluat, hoc opto claudere fine bono.
 "Est melius sero quam nunquam poenituisse,
 2030 "Quem pudet erroris poenituisse decet.
 "Et si mane fuit vel tota dies nebulosa,
 "Obscurum redimat vespera clara diem.
 "Quod male dispersit incircumspecta juvenus,
 "Spes in flore suo prodiga facta sui,
 "Damna juventutis redimens annosa senectus
 "Colligat in fructu floribus usa suis.
 "Spes fuit in flore, sed flos defloruit, a spe
 "Spes cecidit, fructu deficiente suo.
 "Spes abiit floris, spes una novissima fructus
 2040 "Dum superest, aliquid utilitatis agat.
 "De re tam certa nil morte latentius ipsa,
 "Omnes ipsa latet, omnibus ipsa patet.
 "Rebus in humanis mors est res publica nobis,
 "In qua quisque vicem proprietatis habet.
 "Si qua tamen propria res est vel publica, morte
 "Nulla magis propria, publica nulla magis.
 "Ergo quid hic facio? quorsum deservio mundo?
 "Mors mihi cras dicet: 'En ego! surge, veni.'
 "Nil agitur superest nisi tantum religioni
 2050 "Me conferre, procul sit, precor, ergo mora!

Sententia Burnelli de diversis religionibus existentibus
et primo de Templariis

- "Sed quia diversae species sunt religionis,
 "Nescio praecipue quae sit habenda mihi.
 "Si cruce signatus rubea me confero templo,
 "Trans mare me mittent solvere vota Deo.
 "Servus ero, servum facient procul esse seorsum,
 "Serviet et forsan in regione Tyri.
 "Non tamen ibo pedes, sed equo, qui pastus avena
 "Crassus et ad calces sit tener atque levis,

- 2060 "Quique pedem servans et fractis gressibus errans
 "Molliter incedat, regula namque iubet.
 "Scandere trottantem prohibet quoque regula, nolo
 "Quod per me careat ordo rigore suo.
 "Ingrediar miles ne candida pallia desint,
 "Sed tunc ad bellum non rediturus eo.
 "De cute corrigiam nostra Saladinus habebit
 "Et comedet carnes bestia saeva meas.
 "Incircumcisi gladius mea viscera fundet,
 "Detracto corio cetera tradet humo.

De Hospitalariis

- 2070 "Rursum si fuero crucis Hospitalarius albae,
 "Ad Libanum mittar, ligna referre domum.
 "Cum lacrimis pergam scutica caedente trinodi
 "Et venter vacuus et cophinellus erit.
 "Multa licet subeant mihi, nil de jure licebit
 "Praeter mentiri magnificando domum.
 "Et si transgressus fuero semel atque secundo,
 "'Vade foras,' dicent diripientque crucem.

De Nigris Monachis

- 2080 "Esse Niger Monachus si forte velim Cluniaci
 "Ova fabasque nigras cum sale saepe dabunt.
 "Surgere me facient media de nocte, volentem
 "Amplius in calido membra fovere toro.
 "Quodque magis nollem, vellent me psallere sursum
 "Et geminare meos in diapente tonos.
 "Vox est rauca nimis, quamvis sit et ipsa sonora,
 "Pectus et obstrusum tussis anhela gravat.
 "Psallere si nolim, facient me ferre lucernam,
 "Debita reddentes praemia mane mihi.
 "Multotiens carnes et pingua saepe vorarem
 "In feria sexta, nam licet illud ibi.
 2090 "Pellicias portant et plura recondita servant,
 "Quae non sunt sociis omnia nota suis.
 "Sed neque sunt dominis abbatibus omnia nota,
 "Quamvis vel cupiant praecipiantque satis.
 "Quod si contingat stabilita silentia solvi,
 "Corripient verbis verberibusque simul;
 "Et si percutiam, vino stimulante vel ira,
 "Me gravibus culpis carceribusque dabunt.
 "Qui nisi claustrali multumque diuque labore
 "Expertis tribuunt exteriora loca.
 2100 "Non amor abbatis ibi nec cognatio quaevis
 "Contra claustrales obtinuisse potest.

- "Ordinis aut morum nunquam dispendia quisquam
 "Fratribus ex nigris sustinuisse valet.
 "Non vendunt vel emunt sua praedia vel prioratus;
 "Omnia sed gratis distribuuntur ibi.
 "Cellarum numerus quem damno dedecorique
 "Esse putant multi commoda multa parit.
 "Si quam de membris nebulam contingit oriri,
 "Hanc caput absorbet nobilitate sua.
 "Quamque semel culpam vindex sententia punit,
 2110 "Ulterius cuiquam non licet inde loqui.

De Albis Monachis

- "Si fuero Monachus Albus, generalia dura
 "Et pulmenta duo sed bene cocta dabunt.
 "Hoc odiunt quod ego sine fine fideliter odi,
 "Scilicet ut prope se rusticus arva colat.
 "Agrorum cupidi nunquam metas sibi poni
 "Vicinis vellent, pestis iniqua, suis.
 "Lac lanamque greges ovium pecorumque ministrant
 "Quod satis est, quamvis nil satis esse putent.
 "Paucis contenti non cessant quaerere magna,
 2120 "Et cum possideant omnia semper egent.
 "Otia sectari non me patientur ibidem,
 "Sed bene me pascent in novitate mea.
 "Omnibus injungunt operas, ne desidiosus
 "Aut quandoque vacans inveniatur ibi.
 "Sabbata rara colunt, male respondente coquina;
 "Est ibi virga frequens atque diaeta gravis.
 "Non comedunt carnes, nisi cum permiserit abbas
 "Praepositusve loci de pietate sua.
 "Et quia quadrupedum prohibet sua regula carnes,
 2130 "Nec sinit his vesci pro gravitate sui,
 "Quae volat aut currit cupiunt carnem bipedalem,
 "Non quia sit melior sed quia rara magis.
 "Cum tamen illud agunt, testis vicinia fumi
 "Non erit aut facti conscia facta sui.
 "Carnibus absumptis vestigia nulla videbis,
 "Ne clament, her her, ossa sepulta jacent.
 "Tres etiam tunicas de jure duasque cucullas
 "Omnes accipiunt et scapulare breve.
 "Taedia de nocte femoralia nulla jacenti
 2140 "In lecto facient; sit procul iste timor.
 "Nescia braccarum genitalia membra deorsum
 "Nocte dieque simul libera semper eorunt.
 "Ergo quid facerem, veniens si ventus ab Austro
 "Nudaret subito posteriora mea?
 "Qua facie tantum quis sustinuisse pudorem

- "Possit et ad claustrum postea ferre pedem?
 "Quod si contingat mea nuda pudenda videri,
 "Nunquam de reliquo Monachus Albus ero.
 "Dispensare tamen mecum poterunt et oportet,
 2150 "Ne pila quam porto sit manifesta foro.
 "Nonne pusillorum vitari scandala debent?
 "Ergo meum certe, namque pusillus ego.
 "Membra pudenda magis, magis est texisse necesse,
 "Atque minus dignis major habendus honos.
 "Est in fratre suo sua vel texisse pudenda
 "Vel detexisse; qui tegit, ille sapit.
 "Tu tibi quod non vis fieri ne feceris ulli,
 "Quod cupis ut faciat quis tibi, fac et ei.
 "Frater ab effectu non solo nomine dici
 2160 "Frater habet, sine re nomen inane tenet.
 "Sunt etiam multi quos falso nomine fratres
 "Dicimus, et scimus hostibus esse pares.
 "Fratribus in falsis quia multa pericula Paulus
 "Passus erat, scriptis inserit ista suis.
 "Plurima falsorum sunt vera pericula fratrum,
 "Et venit a falsis fratribus omne malum.
 "Quisque sibi caveat a fratre suo, nec in illo
 "Ponere praesumat spemque fidemque sibi.
 "Rara fides fratrum, quia, cum sit quisque fidelis,
 2170 "Se probat infidum, dum caret ipse fide.
 "Frater carnalis nec non et spiritualis
 "Fallitur, et fratrem fallit uterque suum.
 "Si tibi contingat fratrem reperire fidelem,
 "Sit tibi pars animae dimidiumque tuae.
 "Nam tot sunt ficti, tot fures, totque ferales,
 "Quod jam mundus eos dinumerare nequit.
 "Qui sunt in claustro tanquam Sathan in Paradiso,
 "In quo constat eum juris habere nihil.
 "Talia me terrent, dum religionis ad arcem
 2180 "Tendo, nec attendo quove vel unde ruo.
 "Forsitan et vanus timor est, vanoque moveri
 "Multotiens hominum corda timore solent.

De ordine Grandimontis

- "Grandimontanam vitam cum veste professus
 "Si fuero, vereor asperiora pati.
 "Hi cum nil habeant nec se patiantur habere,
 "Ex nihilo semper sufficienter habent.
 "Abdita claustra colunt et nulla silentia servant,
 "Nescit signa manus, libera lingua manet.
 "Non fundos nec agros nec pascua lata requirunt,
 2190 "Nec facit ad saccos annua lana decem;

- "Vellera nec triplici positu distinguere norunt,
 "Idem saccus habet pectora, colla, latus.
 "Non macerant nudas assumpto vellere pelles,
 "Nec faciunt pingues in nemus ire sues.
 "Non mare conscendunt ratibus quo retia laxent
 "Piscibus, aut harnis insidiantur eis.
 "Qualia vel quando comedunt, si lauta diaeta
 "Vel tenuis sit eis, non mihi scire licet.
 "Si pluit e coelo semper quod habent quasi manna,
 2200 "Quid plus praestaret area lata sibi?
 "Si vivunt ut homo nec sunt velut angelus ipsi,
 "A studiis hominum cur prohibentur ita?
 "Et si sunt homines mortales conditione,
 "Cur non humana vivere lege licet?
 "Quod fit in occulto raro sine suspicione
 "Esse potest homini, sit licet absque nota.
 "Si satagant corpus carnemque domare rebellem,
 "Commodius facerent et meliore modo.
 "Non reprehendo tamen super his nec iudico quemquam,
 2210 "Servus enim domino statque caditque suo.
 "Litibus et causis variis fora publica vexant,
 "Et teritur longo tempore causa brevis.
 "Sumptibus insistunt nil proprietatis habentes,
 "Fitque trilustralis causa sepulta diu.
 "In duo divisi multumque diuque laborant,
 "Atque supervacuis sumptibus usque vacant.
 "Nam vice conversa laico dictante, sacerdos
 "Exhibet officii vota sacrata sui.
 "Motus ob hanc causam mons est Romamque profectus,
 2220 "Sed nec ibi meruit sumere causa modum.
 "Plurima fuderunt, sed mons est pinguis et uber
 "Qui de lacte suo cuncta ministrat eis.
 "Et quem nullus arat, serit, aut metit, ordine miro
 "Pullulat ad votum quicquid habere volunt.
 "Ergo quid est quod homo, qui vivit ut angelus intus,
 "Pulsatur totiens exteriore foro?

De ordine Carthusiae

- "Quid si Carthusiam me convertendo revertar?
 "Pellibus et tunicis pluribus utar ibi.
 "Cella mihi dabitur quam solam solus habebo,
 2230 "Nemo mihi socius, nemo minister erit.
 "Solus enim psallam solusque cibaria sumam,
 "Et sine luce meum solus adibo torum.
 "Semper solus ero cella retinente trimembri,
 "In qua continuo pes meus alter erit.
 "Semper erunt praesto, pulmento conficiendo,

- "In cella propria ligna, legumen, aqua.
 "Visere me veniet prior ordinis, atque frequenter
 "Panis erit calidi portio magna mihi.
 2240 "His ovium, pecorum, nemoris terraeque feracis,
 "Vivere qua possunt, portio certa datur.
 "Interior vestis, quam lana caprina ministrat,
 "Carnem castigat asperitate sua.
 "Qualibet hebdomada ter pane cibantur et unda;
 "Non comedunt pisces, sit nisi festa dies.
 "Et semel in mense vel bis de jure venire
 "Ad missam poterunt, si vacat atque volunt.
 "Contenti propriis, nec divitibus nec egenis
 "Esse volunt oneri, cras, hodie, nec heri.
 2250 "Non licet augere numerum pecorum vel agrorum,
 "Taxatur certo canone quicquid habent.
 "Carnis in aeternum cuncti prohibentur ab esu,
 "Praeter eum si quem tabida lepra tenet.
 "Ad fora non veniunt, quo litem lite resolvant,
 "Nec populi vanum depopulantur Ave.
 "Hospitis adventu gaudent mutantque diaetam,
 "Dant quod habent hilari pectore, voce, manu.

De Nigris Canonicis

- "Est et item vita Nigrorum Canonicorum
 "Judicio populi digna decensque Deo.
 2260 "Mollibus induti non spernunt pinguibus uti,
 "Inque refectorio carnibus, absque mero.
 "Quid caro peccavit plus quam faba, pisa, legumen,
 "Ne possit comedi conditione pari?
 "Quem nos causamur non est in carne reatus,
 "Sed comedente male nec cohibente gulam.
 "Causa datur vino, debetur culpa bibenti,
 "Cum caput aut membra cetera mane dolent.
 "Ne pariat psalmus vel lectio taedia longa,
 "In psallendo tenent inque legendo modum.
 2270 "Nec nituntur ad hoc ut vocibus immoderatis
 "Ardua praevaleant rumpere tecta domus.
 "Candida sed pura, subtili stamine texta,
 "Mundis munda, placet linea vestis eis.
 "Vestis honesta quidem, quae nec cum carne rebelli
 "Aut cute bella gerat asperitate sui;
 "Exteriora tamen clauduntur scemate nigro,
 "Ut color alternus aptior esse queat.
 "Lumina ne laedat albedo nigredo repugnat
 "Inque timore nigro gaudia candor habet.
 2280 "Sic arcus coeli gemino splendore refulget,
 "Sic pilus est pardo candidus atque niger;

"Pallia cornici dat penna subalbida nigrae,
 "Candida sic picas et nigra penna tegit.
 "Si vestis bicolor carnem sine corde colorat,
 "Mens erit absque nota, veste tenente notam,
 "Quid refert quales veniant in veste colores,
 "Si mens unicolor interiora regat?

De ordine Praemonstratensi

"Praemonstratenses rursus qui vestibis albis
 "Induti veniunt simplicitate placent.
 "His color unus adest niveo candore refulgens,
 2290 "Hos semper simplex vestis ovina tegit.
 "Omnibus abjectis duris pro mollibus uti
 "Vestibus ad praesens hoc statuere modo.
 "Vellere partito, quod colli nuda tegebat,
 "In proprios usus constituere suos.
 "Ne caro luxuriet, vervecis vellere crispo
 "Corpora castigant asperitate gravi.
 "Damna tamen lini, lana redimente suavi,
 "Ordine cogente sustinuisse decet.
 "Ordinis austerus rigor est, quia carnibus uti
 2300 "Hos in conventu tempus in omne vetat.
 "Dispensando tamen sacer ordo salubribus usus
 "Consiliis super his alleviavit onus,
 "Pinguia concedens quae sunt affinia carni,
 "Sic tamen ut nunquam sit manifesta caro.
 "Bellum cum carne, pacem cum pinguibus esse,
 "Pacis amatores hoc statuere modo,
 "Carnis honestatem sic conservare volentes,
 "Ne contra carnem lex inhonesta foret.
 "Si foret exclusa penitus caro, carnis honestas
 2310 "Laesam se posset de ratione queri.
 "Si foret in totum sine conditione recepta,
 "Saepe daret causam materiamque mali.
 "Unde nec admissa penitus nec tota repulsa
 "Exulat, in patria menstrua facta sua.

De Canonicis secularibus

"Sunt et canonici seculares quique vocati;
 "Nomen ab officio promeruerunt suo.
 "His quodcumque libet lex est licitumque, sub isto
 "Canone constituit vivere tota cohors.
 "Hi nihil excipiunt nec dicunt despiciendum
 2320 "Quicquid in obsequio corporis esse potest.
 "Illud praecipue tamen instituere tenendum
 "Omnibus in tota posteritate sua:

- "Lex vetus ut suasit, ne quilibet absque sua sit,
 "Et quod quisque suas possit habere duas.
 "Hi sunt qui mundum cum flore cadente tenentes,
 "Ne cito marcescat, saepe rigare student.
 "Hi sunt qui faciunt quicquid petulantia carnis
 "Imperat, ut vitiis sit via prona suis.
 2330 "Totus in errorem mundus praeceuntibus illis
 "Ducitur, hi praeceunt praecipitesque ruunt.
 "Hi mundum non mundus eos habet, atque deorsum
 "Hi quia compellunt, funditus ille cadet.
 "Hi fundamentum fidei subvertere prompti
 "Moribus expugnant quae facienda docent.
 "Hi sunt pontificum per quos vigor, ordo, potestas
 "Nutat, et ecclesiae fit status absquo statu.
 "Languet et exspirat per eos reverentia cleri,
 "Deficit in nihilum religionis honos.
 2340 "Horum consilio reges meditantur iniqua,
 "Et quae debuerant stringere laxa tenent.
 "Pontificum latera sunt hi regumque sinistra,
 "Pes errans, mendax lingua, recurva manus,
 "Cor duplex, simulatus amor, sine numine nomen,
 "Ira latens, vera motio, falsa quies,
 "Bursa carens fundo, praedae sine nomine praedo,
 "Lanx mendax veri, vera statera doli,
 "Lex sine lege Dei, canon sine canone Christi,
 "Praevia causa mali, pagina plena doli.
 2350 "Hi sunt justitiam qui prostituere pudicam,
 "Falsa loqui linguas qui docuere suas.
 "Qui dum labentem mundum retinere laborant,
 "Cum labente labant cumque ruente ruunt.
 "Quorum vita labor, via lubrica, gloria stercus,
 "Finis in incerto, praemia certa dolor.
 "Quod bene dum secum quidam meditantur eorum,
 "Talibus a studiis se cohibere student.
 "Qui pariter mundi foeno cum flore relicto
 "Omnia quae mundi sunt nihil esse putant.
 2360 "In medio fornacis agunt, flammaeque vorantis
 "In giro stadium constituere suum.
 "Nec tamen uruntur, quia quos refrigerat intus
 "Spiritus exterior flamma cremare nequit.
 "Decoquit hos mundus et sicut in igne camini
 "Aurum flamma probat sic Deus urit eos.
 "In mediis flammis et in ignibus esse nec uri
 "Non est naturae sed deitatis opus.
 "Cum propria carne certamina longa tenere
 "Res est difficilis et metuenda nimis.
 2370 "Nam caro mortalis levis est et cerea flecti,
 "Quo natura vetus et vitiosa trahit.

De monialibus

- "Est et adhuc ordo velatarum mulierum,
 "Quas etiam nonnas dicimus esse sacras;
 "Qui de virginibus viduisque coactus in unum
 "Ordo satis notus pluribus esse solet.
 "Horas canonicas solito de more frequentant,
 "Solventes pensum nocte dieque suum.
 "Vocibus altisonis adeo modulamine dulci
 "Cantant, sirenes quod cecinisse putes.
 "Corpore serpentes, sirenes voce, dracones
 2380 "Pectore, Susanna smigmate, corde Paris.
 "Sed tamen illud habent, unum quod cuncta refellit,
 "Ante Deum lacrimas quae sine lege fluunt.
 "His Dominum placant semper veniamque merentur,
 "His sua cuncta lavant crimina, quicquid agunt.
 "Omnibus aure tenus licet his nutrire capillos
 "Sed non ulterius, regula namque vetat.
 "Utuntur niveis agni de corpore sumptis
 "Pellibus intonsis, pallia nigra gerunt.
 "Hae caput abscondunt omnes sub tegmine nigro,
 2390 "Sub tunicis nigris candida membra latent.
 "Cingula nulla ferunt sed nec femoralibus uti
 "Consuetudo fuit, nescio si modo sit.
 "Nunquam rixantur, nisi cum locus exigit aut res,
 "Sed neque percutiunt, sit nisi causa gravis.
 "Harum sunt quaedam steriles, quaedam parientes,
 "Virgineoque tamen nomine cuncta tegunt.
 "Quae pastoralis baculi donatur honore,
 "Illa quidem melius fertiliusque parit.
 "Vix etiam quaevis sterilis reperitur in illis,
 2400 "Donec eis aetas talia posse negat.

De ordine de Simplingham

- "Est et adhuc alius nuper novus ordo repertus,
 "Quem bene, nam bonus est, commemorare decet
 "Hic apud Anglorum fines exortus, ab ipso
 "Nomen habet natus quo fuit ipse loco.
 "Simplingham dictus, de simplicitate vocatus,
 "Sive per antiphrasin ordo vocatur ita.
 "Canonicos laicosque simul duplicesque sorores,
 "Quadrifido positu continet una domus.
 "Canonici missas tantum reliquumque sorores
 2410 "Explemt, officii debita jura sui.
 "Corpora non voces murus disiungit, in unum
 "Psallunt directe psalmatis absque melo.

Novus ordo Burnelli factus de aliis ordinibus

"Talia dum mecum tacitus considero, vitam

"Nescio quam possim constituiisse mihi.

"Tutius ergo puto nec non consultius esse

"Ut statuam leges ordinis ipse novi.

"Qui meus ordo meo nomen de nomine sumat,

"Nomen in aeternum vivat ut inde meum.

"Sic igitur fiet, de quolibet ordine sumam

2420 "Quod melius fuerit commodiusque mihi.

"Ordine de Templi sumamus equos gradientes

"Leniter, ut lenis sit meus ordo mihi.

"Ut mihi mentiri liceat quocumque locorum

"Fratribus ex aliis hoc retinere volo.

"Ut feria sexta liceat mihi pinguibus uti,

"Haec Cluniacensis conferat ordo mihi.

"Fratribus ex albis satis est et sufficit illud

"Ut liceat braccis nocte carere meis.

"Grandimontanos in eo quod multa loquuntur

2430 "Multum commendo, quod retinere volo.

"Carthusiae fratres in eo decerno sequendos

"Missa quod in mense sufficit una satis.

"Canonicos nigros carnes comedendo sequamur,

"Ne quid ab hypocrisi contrahat ordo meus.

"Praemonstratenses statuo de jure sequendos

"In molli tunica multiplicique toga.

"Ordine de reliquo placet ut persona secunda

"Foedere perpetuo sit mihi juncta comes.

"Hic fuit ordo prior et conditus in Paradiso;

2440 "Hunc Deus instituit et benedixit ei.

"Hunc in perpetuum decrevimus esse tenendum,

"Cujus erat genitor cum genetrice mea;

"Et genus omne meum semper fuit ordinis hujus,

"Quo genus humanum deficiente cadet.

"Ordine de sacro velatarum mulierum

"Accipiam, zonam semper abesse meam;

"Cingula lata mihi non sunt bona, sed neque ventri

"Conveniunt grosso cingula stricta meo.

"Est et adhuc aliud in eis quod in ordine nostro

2450 "Apponi volumus, cum locus aptus erit.

"Quid de Simplingham, quantum, vel qualia sumam,

"Nescio, nam nova res me dubitare facit.

"Hoc tamen ad praesens nulla ratione remittam,

"Namque necesse nimis fratribus esse reor,

"Quod nunquam nisi clam nulloque sciente sorori

"Cum quocumque suo fratre manere licet.

"Sunt etiam quaedam quae si non nunc meminisse

"Possumus ad praesens, postea tempus erit.

- "Ergo nil restat nisi confirmatio sola
 2460 "Pontificis summi, quam dabit ipse libens.
 "Nam qui justa petunt, nulla ratione repulsam
 "A domino papa sustinuisse solent.
 "Illuc ergo decet primo divertere, papam
 "Et fratres humili sollicitare prece."

Quomodo Burnellus obviavit Galieno

- Talia dicenti veniens Galienus ab urbe
 Obvius accessit, vidit, et inquit ei:
 "Numquid non es tu noster Burnellus?" Et ille:
 "Heu mihi! sum certe; care magister, ave!
 "Ille dolens ego sum Burnellus ab urbe Cremona,
 2470 "Quem bene tu nosti, si meminisse placet.
 "Ecce senem cernis fractumque labore decenni,
 "Qui juvenis quondam fortis et acer eram.
 "Quam mala multa tuli pridem! sed me tamen unum
 "Funditus absumpsit sollicitudo scholae.
 "Rusticus atque schola duo sunt tormenta, dolores
 "Intus et exterius quae mihi ferre solent.
 "Rusticus exterius pungit, ferit atque flagellat,
 "At schola depascit viscera, corda, latus.
 "Saxa sed et lapides mallet portare molares
 2480 "Quam sic assiduus invigilare scholis.
 "Quam mala fila mihi neverunt fata, nec ultra
 "Vel citra possum quam statuere mihi.
 "Fluctuat in dubiis animus meus inque dolendis,
 "Praeque dolore meo mens mea mente caret.
 "Namque tot et tanta miseri sunt scandala mundi,
 "Tot regum scelera pontificumque mala,
 "Tot quoque sunt mortes in religione, tot extra
 "Pessima praeque sui sorde tacenda mihi,
 "Quod dum flens recolo mundi mala prospicioque
 2490 "Quis sit, quis fuerit, quis status orbis erit,
 "Ignis ut a facie subito nova cera liquescit,
 "Et solis radio nix glaciesque fluunt,
 "Sic ego deficio sic defluo sicque resolvor,
 "Totus et in lacrimas fontis ad instar eo.
 "Quarum praecipua, quarum praemaxima causa est
 "Curia Romana quod modo vadit ita;
 "Quae regum domina, quae regnantum diadema,
 "Quae decus atque decor urbis et orbis erat;
 "Quae solis radius, noctis carbunculus ardens,
 2500 "Malleus erroris, poena parata malis,
 "Justitiae gladius, oleum pietatis abundans,
 "Larga manus inopi, dextra referta bonis,
 "Flos novus et nullo marcescens temporis aestu,

- "Fons sine defectu, balsama larga fluens,
 "Religionis apex, pacis concordia, morum
 "Gloria, fax fidei, regula recta boni,
 "Vexillum patriae, sed et omnibus omnia facta
 "Debuit esse caput, sicut origo fuit.
 "Sed conversa retro rediit, fideique prioris
 2510 "Immemor in caudam fecit abire caput.
 "Si caput a capio vel dixeris a capiendo,
 "Tunc est ipsa caput, omnia namque capit.
 "Sic declinando, 'capio, capis' ad capiendum
 "Retia laxavit, retia longa nimis;
 "Quod de praeterito 'cepi' formare futurum
 "Non valet ad praesens, nec videt unde locum.
 "Quondam larga sui proprii nec avara cruoris,
 "Fundere consuevit seque suumque suis,
 "Nunc vice conversa faciens sitit, atque cruorem
 2520 "Fundat ut alterius ebibit ipsa suum.
 "Sic causam mortis quae debuit esse salutis
 "Fecit, et in populo prodiga fudit eum,
 "Vasque commutans ex hoc transfudit in illud,
 "Sub mellis specie pocula felle linit.
 "Ipsa tamen semper in se sitibunda manebit,
 "Cumque bibat semper semper avara sitit.
 "Cujus in os patulum, quamvis foret aes mare magnum
 "Influeretque simul, non satiare eam.
 "Vae! barathro ventris, nequeunt extinguere cujus
 2530 "Fercula nulla famem, pocula nulla sitim.
 "Vae! cui nil satis est et quem sua reddit egenum
 "Copia, nec totus sufficit orbis ei.
 "Sustinet aeris egens quicquid peccatur, avari
 "Quicquid delirant cetera bursa luet.
 "Bursa referta reos solvit, peccata relaxat,
 "Quae non peccantes evacuata ligat.
 "Nil tam difficile, nil tam grave, nil ita pravum
 "Quod non emendet bursa referta bene.
 "Haec facit ut licite fiat quodcunque libebit,
 2540 "Reddit et illicitum quod licet arte pari.
 "Cum sua non mundet, aliorum crimina mundat,
 "Cernere quae propria vulnera sola nequit.
 "Sic dolor in capite facit omnia membra dolere,
 "Toxicat et modicum dolia magna virus.
 "Sic ovis una gregem totum maculando respergit,
 "Et trahit ex modico maxima massa luem.
 "Sic sapit ex fonte, quamvis procul inde remotus,
 "Rivus, et ex igne fumus odoris habet.
 "Ex morbo capitis artus traxere dolorem,
 2550 "Peccatumque patris plangit origo sequens.
 "Virtutum quondam decus et decor, in vitiorum

"Est conversa caput, quae caput orbis erat.
 "Non mihi sufficeret longaeui Nestoris aetas,
 "Singula si memorem quae memoranda forent.
 "Sed sit ut ad summam tituloque referre sub uno
 "Quae sit vox populi, quae solet esse Dei,
 "A summo capitis in ea pedis usque deorsum
 "Ad plantam sanum nil superesse reor.

De regibus

2560 "Rursus si regum mores vitamque revolvam,
 "Quid nisi maioris causa doloris erunt?
 "Quorum vita dolor, quorum dominatio dura,
 "Quorum verba velut ventus et aura levis.
 "Cumque creatus homo sit ad instar imaginis ejus,
 "Qui dedit ex nihilo cuncta creata fore,
 "Pluris habent homine reges animantia terrae,
 "Et genus humanum vilius esse putant.
 "In cruce suspendi pro sumpta carne ferarum
 "Quam plures faciunt saepe dolore gravi,
 2570 "Quid gravius Siculi possent statuuisse tyranni
 "Quam pro morte ferae quod moriatur homo?
 "Qui sic regna regunt, qui sic sine remige regnant,
 "Vix regum tantum nomina sola tenent.
 "Quamvis regna sua sibi sint subjecta, tributa
 "Dent populi, trepidet terra timore suo,
 "Non tamen hi regnant, quoniam regnare timeri
 "Non est aut dura lege ligare suos.
 "Quos non rectores sed raptores bene dici
 "Constat, et ex facto nomen habere suo.
 "Quorum nulla fides, et qui confidit in ipsis
 2580 "Errat et arbitrio desipit ipse meo.
 "Quorum fictus amor, quorum via nulla fidelis,
 "Quorum lingua dolo plena, cruore manus.
 "In quorum manibus crebro tractantur iniqua,
 "Dextera muneribus esse referta solet.
 "Munera respiciunt, quae dum venerantur abesse
 "Justitiam faciunt iudiciumque procul.
 "Quicquid enim faciunt vel dicunt vel meditantur,
 "Si bene discutias, omnia munus olent.
 "Quod nisi praecedat comitetur sive sequatur,
 2590 "Ut vaccam vitulus, non procul immo prope,
 "Nil habitus, nil ordo tibi, nec opinio vitae,
 "Quilibet aut titulus plusve minusve dabit.
 "Munera conturbant reges rursusque serenant,
 "Munera dant pacem, munera bella parant.
 "Munera pontifices subvertunt, munera reges,
 "Munera jus statuunt destituuntque simul.

- "Munera stultorum linguas dant esse disertas,
 "Munera cum clamant cetera quaeque tacent.
 "Munera pervertunt leges, decreta refellunt,
 2600 "Evacuantque patrum jura rigore suo.
 "Munera palpare faciunt delicta potentum,
 "Utque magis vigeant facta nefanda tegunt.
 "Munera—sed taceo, ne forte tegenda revelem—
 "In manibus sanctis esse reperta solent.
 "Munera declarant quidnam meditantur avari,
 "Quidve velit fieri mens maculosa viri.
 "Munera quid valeant sedes pastore vacantes,
 "Credere si fas est, saepe docere solent.
 "Munera dulce malum, virus insanabile sanis
 2610 "Mentibus, aegrotis mortis imago recens.
 "Munera semper habent aliquid portantia vocem,
 "Verborumque vices ore tacente gerunt.
 "Munera iudicii libram moderantur et ipsam
 "Protinus inflectunt, quo data pensa trahunt.
 "Munera mortifero dant pocula plena veneno,
 "Excaecant oculos praecipitantque gradus.
 "Omnia vincit amor, sed amorem munera vincunt,
 "Quod siquis dubitet, ponderet haec et eum.
 "Munera virtutum suffocant germina, sanctos
 2620 "Irritant, reprobos mortis ad ima trahunt.
 "Munera corrumpunt mores pariuntque recepta
 "Damna pudicitiae, dona cupita procis.
 "Munera pontifices extollunt, munera reges,
 "Munera dant apices exhilarantque duces.
 "Munera suffodiunt turres montesque coaequant
 "Vallibus et pariunt absque cruore necem.
 "Munera praecedunt, quoties mala multa sequuntur,
 "Munera cum veniunt proxima causa subest.
 "Munera si cessent, cessabunt jurgia, lites,
 2630 "Mars cadet et Veneris nullus amicus erit.
 "Munera si cessent, sine sanguine tempore pacis,
 "Quod nunquam potuit, Roma subacta ruet.
 "Munera si cessent, primatum pallia multo
 "Constabunt levius et meliore foro.
 "Munera si cessent, abbatum cornua longa
 "Ponderis et pretii jure minoris erunt.
 "Munera si cessent, regis revocatus ab aula
 "Monachus in claustrum limina sacra teret,
 "Munera si cessent, grex cum pastore quiescet,
 2640 "Junctus et amborum spiritus unus erit.
 "Munera si cessent, Deus in cellas Cluniaci
 "Forte revertetur et remanebit ibi.
 "Munera si cessent, Judam cum Simone clerus
 "Tollet et e medio coget abire sui.

- "Munera si cessent, miseris mortalibus ultra
 "Clamor nec luctus nec dolor ullus erit.
 "Munera si cessent, pariter cum Simone Judas
 "Decidet et loculos perdet uterque suos.
 "Munera subversum faciunt de rege tyrannum,
 2650 "Convertuntque suas in sua membra manus.
 "Plebs sine doctrina, populus sine lege, cruentis
 "Moribus, accelerat pronus in omne nefas.
 "Gens gravis esuriens carnem sitiensque cruorem
 "Armat inarmatas ad scelus omne manus.
 "Ille timor Domini, reges qui terruit olim
 "Et populos, periit nomine reque simul.
 "Quid Dominum loqueris? Deus est post terga relictus.
 "Non opus est alio, sit sibi quisque Deus.
 "Regis ad exemplum populus lascivit ineptus,
 2660 "Verecisque pedes sors facit una pares.
 "Ecce tot et tantas patiuntur secula strages,
 "Posteriorque dies deteriora parit.
 "Nec superest redimat neque qui salvos faciat nos,
 "Sed sperata salus funditus omnis abest.

De pastoribus spiritualibus

- "Non alios igitur super his nisi temporis hujus
 "Pontifices sacros auguror esse reos.
 "Qui se pastores legemque tenere fatentur,
 "Nec tamen haec faciunt quae facienda docent.
 "Qui potius fures quam pastores vocitari
 2670 "Teste Deo debent, de quibus illud ait:
 "Advenient multi pseudo falsique prophetae,
 "Et satagent multos fallere fraude sua.
 "Qui, quamvis veniant ovium sub veste, rapaces
 "Sanguinis hos avidos noveris esse lupos.
 "A pascendo grege, non depascendo merentur
 "Pastores ovium nomen habere suum.
 "Nomen ab officio sumptum vertere seorsum,
 "Ut non pastores sint gregis, immo lupi.
 "Tres sunt praecipue prope qui versantur ovile,
 2680 "Quorum quisque gregi proximus esse student;
 "Primus enim pastor est, mercenarius alter,
 "Tertius insidians dicitur esse lupus.
 "Primus oves gratis pascit, mercede secundus,
 "Tertius ut perdat diripiatque gregem.
 "Pastores igitur, quia gratis nulla ministrant,
 "Nil sibi cum primo proprietatis habent.
 "Et quoniam pascunt mercedis amore, secundi
 "Officio similes sors facit esse pares.
 "Nil sibi cum primo, sed habent conjuncta secundo

- 2690 "Plurima, de reliquo quaestio nulla manet.
"Ergo lupis similes comedunt cum sanguine carnes,
"Matris et ex utero viscera rapta vorant.
"More lupi veniunt pastores temporis hujus,
"Morte gregem primum perdere quisque suum.
"Quodque vident fragile frangunt, quod debile spernunt,
"Quod crassum comedunt, quod leve proiciunt.
"Lac gregis et lanam querunt misereque subactas
"Undique dispersas depopulantur oves.
"Nec satis istud eis, quod depraedantur ovile
2700 "Disperguntque gregem diripiuntque sibi,
"Sit nisi quem sitiunt calidum sorbere cruorem
"Inque gregis jugulum mittere posse manum.
"Qualiter introeant pastores temporis hujus
"In caulas ovium, quo duce, quaque via;
"Ingressi quid agant et quam studiose ministrent
"In grege suscepto, non mihi, crede foro—
"Pastorum vitam si discutiamus ad unguem,
"Plurima quae faciunt plena ruboris erunt.
"In specula positi, qua circumquaque videri
2710 "Seque videre valent, lumina clausa tenent.
"Sanguinis et carnis curam non despicientes,
"Solliciti curant seque suosque simul.
"Quem sibi praecipue deberent praeposuisse
"Vix valet extremo delituisse loco.
"Uritur alget eget sitit esurit ulcere plenus,
"Qui dedit, unde suam cuique levare famem.
"Praesulis ad mensam tot fercula, totque ferentes,
"Tot vini cyati, tot sine lege scyphi;
"Totque domus domini, tot circumquaque ministri,
2720 "Tot stantes pueri, totque meando vagi;
"Tot juvenes compti variisque modis redimiti,
"Totque senes docti gesta priora loqui;
"Et quasi castrorum regum statione soluta,
"Disscurrunt acies, corpore, mente, leves.
"Dumque bibit dominus, quidam sua brachia tendit,
"Atque genu flexo pronus adorat eum.
"Splendida tota domus, duplici radiante metallo,
"In quibus offertur hostia sacra Deo.
"Sed quae pontificis sunt usibus appropriata
2730 "Non sunt de vili materiaque rudi.
"Non norunt recte partiri, qui statuerunt
"Aurea pontifici, stagna vasa Deo.
"Praesul in argento totus discumbit et auro,
"Vix quoque fictilibus utitur aula Dei.
"Ecclesias vacuas, altaria nuda, crucesque
"Detractis spoliis stare videre potes.
"Regia pontificis sublimibus alta columnis,

- "Intus et exterius marmore fulta, nitet.
 2740 "Tot sunt pontifici tunicae, tot pallia, cappae,
 "Ipse quod ignoret nec numerare queat.
 "Praesulis e digitis gemmarum pendet et auri
 "Septem divitibus quod satis esset opum.
 "Praesul amat marcam plus quam distinguere Marcum,
 "Plus et amat lucrum quam sapuisse Lucam.
 "Sic hodie, sic cras sibi credita non data certe
 "Dispensant, Domino dissimulante diu.
 "Qualiter atque quibus curam credant animarum,
 "(Quod magis est aliis omnibus) ecce patet.
 2750 "Ante puer patrem primum matremque vocare
 "Quam sciat aut possit stare vel ire pedes,
 "Suscipit ecclesiae claves animasque regendas,
 "In cunis positus dummodo vagit adhuc.
 "Quid dicet Petrus cum me Robekinus ad astra
 "Aut Wileminus aget duxque comesque meus?
 "Petro, non puero, claves Deus ecclesiarum
 "Tradidit atque suas jussit habere vices.
 "In manibus, Domine, Robekini vel Wilemini
 "Ne me tradideris, sit tibi cura mei.
 2760 "Sed neque me tradam, quamvis mihi forte, quod absit,
 "Praesul vim faciat exagitetque diu.
 "Tristis ob hanc causam prius appellabo, Petrumque,
 "Ejus et haeredem solus adibo pedes.
 "Cum nutrice sua Romam Robekinus adibit,
 "Quem nova sive vetus sportula tecta feret.
 "Missus et in peram veniet Wileminus in urbem,
 "Curia Romana tota videbit eum.
 "Nec vacuis manibus aderunt nec ventre soluto,
 "Sed quasi parturiens et prope tempus agens.
 2770 "Accedent propius venientque videre sepulchrum,
 "Quod semper vacuum permanet atque capax.
 "Quod deest aetati tenerae supplebit eorum
 "Gratia, consortes quos habuere viae.
 "Praestabunt annos pater et paedagogus eisdem,
 "Quotquot opus fuerit, si tamen esset opus.
 "Qui dedit ecclesias numquid non contulit annos
 "Et mores, quales talibus esse decet?
 "A simili reliquum potuit qui contulit unum,
 "Jure pari licuit illud et illud ei.
 2780 "Impuberes pueros pastores ecclesiarum
 "Vidimus effectos pontificesve sacros.
 "Sic dixit quidam de quodam pontificando,
 "Cum princeps regni sollicitaret eum,
 "'Est puer, et nondum discernere possumus utrum
 "'Foemina vel mas sit, et modo praesul erit!'
 "Talibus est hodie cleri populiue potestas

- "Atque domus Domini cura regenda data.
 "Talibus ecclesia Christi suffulta columnis
 "Decidet, ante suam praejugulata diem.
 "Si quaeris quid agat festinus praesul in urbe,
 2790 "Assumptis canibus in nemus ire parat,
 "Aut ut aves avibus capiat vel piscibus hamum
 "Mittat et esocem hinc trahat inde lupum.
 "Ardea visa fuit fluviali proxima ripae,
 "Jactet ut ancipitrem praesul ab urbe ruit.
 "Silvarum saltus plusquam loca sancta frequentat,
 "Latratusque canum canone pluris habet.
 "Plus cane percusso dolet anxius aut ave laesa
 "Quam si decedat clericus unus ei.
 "Saepe dies tota causis cedit sine causa,
 2800 "Officiisque sacris sufficit hora brevis.
 "Litibus impensa brevis est quaevis mora longa,
 "Hora brevis Domini taedia magna parit.
 "Acrius insistit lepori canis, irrequietus
 "Donec et officium compleat ipse suum,
 "Quam sua persolvant, cum tempus et hora requirit,
 "Pontifices nostri debita pensa Deo.
 "Qui si pro Domino paterentur, quod patiuntur
 "Propter res viles deliciasque breves,
 "Nullus eos dubitet vivos, in carne manentes,
 2810 "Esse Dei sanctos martyribusque pares.
 "Nec tamen ista pati pudet hos aut poenitet horum
 "Quamvis saepe gravet sustinuisse jugum.
 "Nam Deus illorum, pro quo patiuntur ad horam
 "Haec mala, pro meritis praemia digna dabit.

De Abbatibus et prioribus

- "Quodque magis miror, abbates atque priores
 "Conventusque sacri, quos suus ordo ligat,
 "Canone posthabito, quem sunt servare professi,
 "Quemque patres sancti constituere sibi,
 2820 "Ecce retro redeunt sorbentque quod evomuerunt,
 "Ut canis ad vomitum susque reversa lutum.
 "Exterius faciem praetendunt religionis,
 "Interiusque gerunt pectora plena dolo.
 "Qui duce Bernardo gradiuntur vel Benedicto,
 "Aut Augustini sub leviori jugo,
 "Omnes sunt fures, quocunque caractere sancto
 "Signati veniant magnificentque Deum.
 "Ne credas verbis, ne credas vestibus albis,
 "Vix etenim factis est adhibenda fides.
 "Quorum voc lenis vox Jacob creditur esse,
 2830 "Cetera sunt Esau brachia, colla, manus.

- "Rursus in Aegyptum quem deseruere reversi,
 "Dulce sibi reputant a Pharaone premi.
 "Carnis ad illecebras nullo retinente ruentes
 "In foveam mortis carne trahente cadunt.
 "Invidiae stimulis vexantur et ambitionis
 "Aestibus assiduis, praecipueque tribus;
 "Primus ut ascendant labor est, sequiturque parentum
 "Indiscretus amor, cura quiete carens.
 "Hac omnes ardent, hac omnes febre laborant,
 2840 "Haec tenet imperium, postpositura Deum.
 "Hinc ut opes habeant summa virtute laborant,
 "Possideantque brevi tempore parta diu.
 "Olim paupertas rebusque carere caducis
 "Religiosorum gloria magna fuit.
 "Nunc nisi possideant, animarum damna suarum,
 "Res et opes magnas, pascua, prata, greges,
 "Esse putant miseri, quia mundo pauper haberi
 "Inter eos hodie creditur esse nefas.
 "Pauper erat christus, quem sic imitando sequuntur
 2850 "Pauperis ut sine re nomen habere queant.
 "Sicque volunt dici quod nolunt esse, putantes
 "Omnis cernentem fallere posse Deum.
 "Omnibus abjectis inopis vestigia Christi
 "Verbis non factis se statuere sequi.
 "Spreverunt mundum, sed tali conditione
 "Ut semel abjectus semper adesse queat.
 "Ne quid eis desit spreverunt omnia; felix
 "Quisquis, ut ipse metat plurima, pauca serit.
 "Cum lupo ex habitu non est suspectus ovili,
 2860 "Dentis ab effectu quo timeatur habet.
 "Simpliciter graditur vulpis vultuque modesto
 "Et nihil in facie suspicionis habet,
 "Corde sed astuto vincens animalia multa
 "Semper in insidiis tota dolosa manet.
 "Quo magis ascendit, coelo vicinior alto
 "Ancipiter, praedam fortius inde capit.
 "Fortius ut feriat aries retrocedit, et ictus
 "Suscipit obstipo vertice datque simul.
 "Sic faciunt hodie, quos mundus religiosos
 2870 "Aestimat et sanctos praedicat esse viros.
 "De quibus ad praesens, quamvis mihi multa supersint,
 "Plura loqui timeo, ne reprehendar ego.

De Laicis

- "Sed quid de laicis dicam? Si publica quaedam
 "Dixero quae didici, publicus hostis ero.
 "Nuper cum profugus fugerem festinus ab urbe,

- "Bernardum fugiens, verbera saeva timens,
 "Abdita quaerebam loca, quae non posset adire
 "Ille meus dominus, rusticus ille miser.
 2880 "Qui me quaerebat per devia quaeque locorum,
 "Cum canibus multis multa minando mihi;
 "Jurabatque satis quod si possem reperiri
 "Illud iter luerem tempus in omne meum,
 "Quodque fugam dorso mihi scriberet esse legendam
 "Taliter, ut nunquam non meminisse foret.
 "Me quoque stertentem laetus quandoque putabat
 "Admota propius prendere posse manu.
 "Sed celer exiliens Bernardum pone sequentem
 "Ridebam dominum conscius ipse meum.
 2890 "Saepe supinatum per posteriora coegi,
 "Calce repperctus, stertere more meo.
 "Aestus erat, lassusque fui voluique sub umbra
 "Ilicis optato membra fovere toro.
 "Carmina quae nuper me composuisse iuvabat
 "Scribere conabar tutus ab hoste meo.
 "Et locus et tempus, studio nimis apta, volentem
 "Scribere cogeabant improbitate sua.
 "Venter erat plenus, pes lassus, pagina prompta
 "Excerptura nova carmina digna nota.
 2900 "Cumque manus calamum ferrumque teneret acutum
 "Exciperetque novos pellis ovina tonos,
 "Nescio quem prope me ramos super ilicis altae
 "Audio garritum percipioque sonum.
 "Nec mora, tanta locum volucrum vaga turba replevit,
 "Silva quod, ampla prius, tunc tamen arcta foret.
 "Intonat omne nemus, volucrum dispersa per auras
 "Vox abit in coelum concutiendo solum.
 "Ipse mihi timui coepique timendo coactus
 "Dicere, 'Quid sibi vult hoc novitatis opus?'
 2910 "Terreor aspectu; nec mirum; tum quia notus
 "Non erat ille locus, tum quia solus eram,
 "Auribus erectis et fixo corpore toto
 "Prostratus jacui murmuris absque sono.
 "Pectora tundebar tacitus veniamque precabar
 "Voto non verbo, supplice corde meo.
 "Pene timore gravi ventrem sine ventre resolvi
 "Contigit, et dubito ne sit et an sit ita.
 "Namque graves venti tempestatesque morosae
 "Imbribus exiguis delituisse solent.
 2920 "Murmure sedato tenuere silentia tandem,
 "Et quotquot fuerant conticuere simul.
 "Agminis in medio, tota reticente caterva,
 "Surrexit solus corvus, adorsus ita."

Sententia corvi

- "Dilecti fratres dominique mei speciales,
 "Si placet, audite me, quia pauca loquar.
 "Non quia sim melior vobis vel stemmate maior,
 "Utpote de vili cespite natus ego,
 "Vel quod plus sapiam, cum sit sapientia prima,
 "Teste David magno, scire timere Deum,
 2930 "Sed quia sum major natu senioribus istis
 "Omnibus, annorum tempore teste nihi.
 "Me Noe septennem prudens induxit in arcam,
 "Cum tegeret montes altior unda fluens.
 "Postea fluxerunt quamplurima secula nobis,
 "Pluribus ignota secula, valde bona,
 "Quorum dum recolo mecum tacitusque recordor
 "Quam bona tunc fuerint, quamque referta bonis
 "Horum respectu quae sint modo, tristic et amens
 "Tempora festinae mortis adesse reor.
 2940 "Namque senescentis mundi decus omne recessit
 "Et sua quaeque suum deseruere statum;
 "Sidera, terra, mare, solito privata tenore,
 "Legibus antiquis dediticere regi;
 "Et si praeterita praesentibus annumeremus,
 "Nulla cohaerebunt corpore membra suo.
 "Ordine transposito variantur saecula quaeque,
 "Alter et est hodie quam fuit orbis heri.
 "Contra naturam rerum natura ministrat,
 "Deserit et cursum noxque diesque suum.
 2950 "Hinc homines morbi perimunt, animalia pestes,
 "Hinc quoque languore praemoriuntur aves.
 "In promptu causa est quoniam peccavimus omnes,
 "Nec superest qui se iudicet esse reum.
 "Omnes sunt iusti, nullus peccavit, iniquum
 "Nil ego commisi, tu nihil, ille nihil,
 "Non ego gustavi, cuncti dixere ministri;
 "Et tamen absorptum constitit esse camum.
 "Esto quod apponat aliquis sua crimina flere,
 "Et de commissis paenituisse velit;
 2960 "Pectore contrito statuatur sua facta fateri
 "Crimina cum lacrimis cumque dolore gravi;
 "Cui sua secure poterit secreta fateri
 "Omnibus ex nobis? nescio, crede mihi.
 "Mille mihi fratres numeres totidemque sorores,
 "Mille sed et matres sint mihi totque patres,
 "Omnibus ex illis secreti conscius unus,
 "Unicus atque meus consiliator erit?
 "Dixero si corvo corvus mea crimina dicet
 "Cornici, cornix per fora cuncta canet.

- 2970 "Si me prodidero gallo, gallina, quod absit,
 "Prodigium pullis me dabit esse suis.
 "Mors mihi, si taceo, mors est si dixerō quicquam;
 "Me duo dura premunt, hinc timor, inde pudor.
 "Lingua sacerdotum, quoniam secreta revelat,
 "Cogit ut inviti confiteamur eis.
 "Nulla lues gravior quam cum secreta revelat
 "Factus secreti conscius ipse tui.
 "Qui cadit in gladio semel est plangendus, at ille
 "Tempore perpetuo quem sua lingua necat.
 "Vos igitur qui vel facitis fierique videtis
 2980 "Plurima quae non sunt enumeranda modo,
 "Quid cui dicatis, ne postea poeniteatis,
 "Quique per exemplum discite, quaeso, meum.
 "Qui sciat atque velit crebro relevare cadentem
 "Et magis afflictos exhilarare magis,
 "Qui modo quassatum calamum non conterat, immo
 "Alliget et sanet sustineatque diu;
 "Qui graviter lapsis ignoscens compatiatur
 "Seque reformidet talia posse pati;
 "Qui semper fragilis quam sit caro praemeditetur,
 2990 "Et levis ad lapsum conditione gravi,
 "Qui graviter laesus non exardescat in iram,
 "Nec mox vindictam poscat ab hoste suo,
 "Sed pius ac patiens omnem prius ipse remittat
 "Criminis offensam quam roget alter eum;
 "Qui sibi sufficiens nec opum cupidus nec honorum
 "Respuat oblata proprietate carens;
 "Quem nec amor mundi vexet nec causa parentum,
 "Vel data supplantent munera, dulce malum;
 "Qui nec amet vel agat quod quis justo reprehendat,
 3000 "Cui sit idem secum vivere quod sine se;
 "Si fuerit talis tantusque repertus in orbe
 "Confessor, fateor, cuncta fatebor ei.
 "Exemplum vobis ego sum, cui garrula quondam
 "Lingua fuit damno, teste colore meo.
 "Dum tacui dilectus eram, sed prodiga lingua
 "Reddidit exosum; vae tibi, lingua loquax!
 "O quam dives eram multisque beatus amicis,
 "Donec surripuit me mea lingua mihi.
 "Felix si statua Martis taciturnior essem,
 3010 "Mansissetque mihi qui fuit ante color.
 "Quod semel admisi, longum damnatus in aevum;
 "Lugeo perpetuo tempore tristis ego.
 "Gratia, fama, decor, mihi sunt sublata loquenti,
 "Surripuit totum lingua diserta nimis.
 "Lingua loquax nocuit, fateor, quia, si tacuissem
 "Cuncta remansissent insita dona prius.

- "Inter aves omnes formosior unus habebam,
 "Et magis acceptus omnibus unus eram.
 "Vox mea, clara prius, misero vix rauca remansit,
 3020 "Criminis admissi testis et ipsa mei.
 "Perpetuata foret mea gloria si tacuissem,
 "Sed quia non tacui tota repente ruit.
 "Unde mei memores linguam cohibete loquacem,
 "Ne jugulet dominum prodiga facta suum.
 "Pauca loquar salva dominorum pace meorum,
 "Vera tamen, veris si licet esse locum;
 "Non est mirandum, quamvis adversa frequenter
 "Nobis contingant et mala plura premant,
 "Nos sumus in causa, si causam quaerimus, ipsi,
 3030 "Cur tot in adversis deficiamus ita.
 "Nos sata destruimus, nos semina diripientes
 "Tollimus et plenos depopulamur agros.
 "Ne faciant fructum flores, mox arbore natos
 "Unguibus et rostris dilaceramus eos.
 "Caedibus assiduis insistimus atque rapinis,
 "Ad bona difficiles, luxuriosa cohors.
 "Aestimat excussam tuto se deposuisse
 "Rusticus annonam, poste tenente seram.
 "Sed gallus veniens, tota comitante sequela,
 3040 "Quantumcunque placet tollit et inde fugit.
 "Nec satis est sumpsisse satis, totam nisi massam
 "Dispergat pedibus per loca cuncta domus.
 "Nisus et ancipiter, postquam fuerit bene pastus,
 "Avolat et dominum spernit adire suum;
 "Nec pueri lacrimas sese revocantis et illi
 "Brachia tendentis respicit, immo fugit.
 "Qua totiens pastus, totiens portatus, amicam
 "Spernit ut hostilem captus ab hoste manum.
 "Certa licet quamvis objecta pericula mortis
 3050 "Immineant pueris, non miserentur eis;
 "Dumque sequuntur eos per devia quaeque locorum,
 "Saepe quidem silvis, saepe necantur aquis.
 "Sic bene pro meritis nostros vexamus amicos,
 "Reddimus atque bona pro vice saepe malam.
 "Psittacus in thalamum domina redeunte puellas
 "Prodit, et illarum verba tacenda refert.
 "Quod fuerant secum tacite timideque locutae
 "Auribus et tutis et sine teste malo,
 "Nescius ille loqui sed nescius immo tacere
 3060 "Profert, plus aequo psittacus oris habens.
 "Hinc avibus crebro miscent aconita puellae,
 "Discat ut ante mori quam didicisse loqui.
 "Sunt et aves aliae, quae toto tempore vitae
 "Religiosorum claustra beata colunt;

- "Quae quot eis faciant discrimina saepe per annum,
 "Non ego sufficio dinumerare modo.
 "Hinc est quod populus odio nos odit iniquo,
 "Reddit et exactam pro vice saepe vicem.
 "Hinc est cotidie quod nobis insidiantur,
 3070 "Tollit et e medio nos inimica manus;
 "Hinc laqueos nobis ponunt, hinc retia tendunt,
 "Hinc lapis, inde parit missa sagitta necem;
 "Hinc inviscatis pedibus retinemur et alis,
 "Fallimur et dulci saepe tonante tono.
 "Ista nec immerito patimur luimusque coacti
 "Plurima, quae gratis facta fuisse liquet."

Responsio Galli

- Talia dicenti Gallus respondit, "Amice,
 "Pone modum verbis; sunt satis ista; tace.
 "Sunt discreta minus tua verba minusque diserta,
 3080 "Nec sapit in nostro pectore sermo tuus.
 "In sermone tuo nimis es diffusus, abundans
 "Verbis non sensu, quod solet esse senum.
 "Olim lingua tibi damnosa fuisse refertur,
 "Sed nec adhuc quicquam profuit illa tibi.
 "Plurima vidisti velut is qui tempore longo
 "Vixit et inspexit secula multa retro.
 "Unde nec est mirum si jam delira senectus
 "Erret et existat mens ratione carens.
 "In sene decrescunt semper, crescentibus annis,
 3090 "Hinc mentis ratio, corporis inde vigor;
 "In sene deliro sensus patiuntur eclipsim,
 "Quem constat casu non ratione regi;
 "Turbato cerebro turbantur et omnia membra,
 "Deficiuntque sibi lumina, lingua, manus.
 "Hinc est quod sceleris nos arguis et reprehendis,
 "Tanquam sis solus justus et absque nota.
 "Justus es et certe toto spectabilis orbe,
 "Quodque satis sine me praedicat arca Noe.
 "Nonne reversurum Noe te dimisit ab arca?
 3100 "Quae te detinuit causa cadaver erat.
 "Te gula, te venter, te vicit inepta voluptas,
 "Proderes ut dominum perfidus ipse tuum.
 "Si vitam mores actusque tuos bene penses,
 "In toto mundo par tibi nullus erit.
 "A teneris annis didicisti perfidus esse,
 "Non potes illud adhuc deseruisse senex.
 "Ventris ob ingluviem vilemque cadaveris escam
 "A puero constat te violasse fidem.
 "Nam bene pro meritis dominum male deseruisti,

- 3110 "Tempore quo fuerat deseruisse nefas,
 "Contraherent de te maculum ne cetera quaeque,
 "Perfidus existi, non rediturus item.
 "O quam dissimilis tibi sum, quantumque repugnant
 "Moribus et factis omnia nostra tuis.
 "Nactus enim dominum quemcunque, fidelis eidem
 "Tempore perpetuo servio, servo fidem.
 "Proveniunt etiam per me nonnulla per annum
 "Commoda, pauperibus divitibusque simul.
 "Per me pluma datur, qua fessa labore diurno,
 3120 "Ut vires reparent, molliter ossa cubant.
 "Per me praecipue medicorum cura juvatur,
 "Et datur infirmis apta dieta suis.
 "Per me debilibus desperatisque salubris
 "Esca datur, pulli deliciosa caro.
 "Pinguis et eunuchus, de nostra stirpe creatus,
 "Fortibus et sanis fortior esca datur.
 "Belli perpetui, belli quod fine carebit,
 "Quod nullus hominum pacificare potest,
 "Inter claustrales quod semper durat et ova,
 3130 "De lumbis nostris cepit origo prior.
 "Tempore nocturno vigili vigilantior omni
 "Horarum signo tempora voce mea.
 "Ipsae pigros pueros nec surgere mane volentes
 "Excito nec patior incaluisse toro.
 "Plura sed et per me constant collata fuisse
 "Commoda, quae non sunt enumeranda modo.
 "Non tamen ingratus vel inofficiosus eisdem,
 "Quos mihi sors dominos contulit, esse volo.
 "Namque malignari si vellem, sique, quod absit,
 3140 "Nescirem labiis ponere fraena meis,
 "Multi de medio fierent dignasque subirent
 "Poenas pro meritis carceris atque crucis.
 "Nocte sub obscura quae fiunt multa nefanda,
 "Et quae nocte nigra sint nigriora satis,
 "Quid faciat dominus, quid dicat servus iniquus,
 "Si fora novissent omnia sicut ego,
 "Saepe viros multos multas etiam mulieres
 "In cruce suspensos mane videre foret.
 "Rusticus uxori tacitus quod dicit in aure,
 3150 "Ipse licet nolit, me latuisse nequit.
 "Dii nolint quod me contingat laedere quemquam,
 "Vel scelus alterius prodere voce mea.
 "Absit ut assimiler corvo, qui prodidit illum
 "Qui sibi praecipue causa salutis erat.
 "Jupiter ante precor in me sua fulmina mittat,
 "Devolet et terra meque genusque meum,
 "Me prius unda maris absorbeat inque profundum

- "Gurgitis inferni praecipitatus eam,
 "Quam commissa mihi quaevis secreta revelem,
 3160 "Exeat aut sermo pravus ab ore meo.
 "Cum quibus est vita cuivis communis habenda,
 "Hos nisi commendet, laudet, honoret, amet,
 "Desipit, et statuae similis quamvis sine sensu
 "Corporis humani sensile corpus habet.
 "Hic meus est animus, haec est sententia vera,
 "Haec pro me solo dixero solus ego.
 "Nisus et ancipiter pro se reliquique loquantur,
 "Qui satis aetatis vocis et oris habent.
 "Ruricolis subici mea me fortuna coegit,
 3170 "Et procul a regum jussit abesse domo.
 "Hinc nisi vim passus venio delatus in aulam,
 "Insita cum fuerit lignea cauda mihi.
 "Nisus et ancipiter quoniam versantur in aula
 "Intersunt regum consiliisque ducum.
 "His loca secreta strepituque carentia vulgi
 "Et procul a turbis incoluisse datur.
 "Principis in thalamo positi statuuntur in alto,
 "Ut de sublimi multa videre queant.
 3180 "Angulus extremus thalami locus, aptus agendis
 "Rebus in occultis, intitulatur eis.
 "Illic consilia crebro capiuntur iniqua,
 "Illic temptari pessima saepe solent.
 "Gratior interdum pueris simul atque puellis
 "Angulus est aula nox tenebrosa die.
 "Hic solet abscondi furtum, quod ventre soluto
 "Egrediens tempus vim tulit ante suum.
 "Hic quoque consuevit fieri confessio, nulli
 "Facta sacerdotum nec facienda, reor.
 "Hic aconita latent longo quaesita labore,
 3190 "Hicque novercarum carmina dira vigent,
 "Ut puer ancipitrem veniens de nocte profunda
 "Visitet infirmum, postulat ille locus.
 "Hic locus astmaticos sanat curatque caducos
 "Et facit in noctem saepe venire diem.
 "Hic igitur loca sunt quibus est odiosa lucerna,
 "Et vitii titulo praemia laudis habent.
 "Nisus et ancipiter, loca qui male sancta frequentant,
 "Rem bene noverunt quae sit et unde loquor.
 3200 "Hi duo praecipue, si vellent dicere verum,
 "Mira quidem possent dicere, vera tamen."

Responsio Nisi

Talibus auditis Nisus respondit, "Iniquum
 "Arbitror, officium deseruisse suum.

- "Nos sumus ingenui, generoso stemmate nati,
 "Non decet os nostrum turpia verba loqui.
 "Quicquid agant pueri, nobis patientia facti
 "Tempore perpetuo quod sit habenda puto.
 "Si ludunt pueri, cum non laedamur ab ipsis,
 "Cur laedamus eos? sit procul iste furor.
 "Qui sua non dubitant nobis secreta fateri,
 3210 "Ne prodamus eos, jure tenemur eis.
 "Nos pueri pascunt, nos portant, nosque reportant,
 "Nos quoque conservant sedulitate sua.
 "Redditur exosus merito delator, amico
 "Criminis est crimen imposuisse suo.
 "Cum taceant oculi qui res videre stupendas,
 "Cur quod non vidit garrula lingua refert?
 "Absit ut os oculis hac conditione ministret,
 "Alter ut ambobus causa sit unde ruant.
 "Os male si pravum laxes, cum sit tamen unum,
 3220 "Quid prodest oculos continuisse duos?
 "Os igitur pravum taceat, quoadusque loquantur
 "Aures aut oculi pesve manusve sibi.
 "Solvere tunc poterit indicta silentia lingua,
 "Cum prius audierit cetera membra loqui.
 "Si prius ediderit oculus quod vidit et auris
 "Ante quod audivit pesque manusque mea,
 "Libera tunc linguae sua vox reddetur in omnes,
 "De quibus ad praesens quaestio moto fuit;
 "Hoc tamen adjecto, quod si sibi forte cavere
 3230 "Nec membris valeat, muta sit usque queat.
 "Nam nihil in mundo, cum sint nequissima multa,
 "Hoc vitio nequam nequius esse potest."

Voluntas et ratio Burnelli

- "Talia dicente niso mea lumina clausit
 "Somnus, et incepti stertere more meo.
 "A sonitu volucres verna velocius aura
 "Excitae subito disparuere loco.
 "Talia, mi doctor, mecum dum saepe recorder,
 "Arctor et in curas distrahor ipse graves.
 "Cumque nihil stabile maneat sub sole creatum,
 3240 "Quis neget instabilem quemlibet esse statum?
 "En! ego qui fueram juvenis patiensque laborum
 "Et fortis, modo sum fractus et ipse senex.
 "Cumque satis constet centum vixisse per annos,
 "Vix mihi jam videor tres habuisse dies,
 "Omnia testantur solum superesse sepulchrum;
 "Sique dies superest, auguror esse brevem.
 "Vivere velle diu nihil est, nisi velle, quod absit!

- "Vivere peccato; vita sit ergo brevis.
 3250 "Cum sine peccato non sit nascentis ab alvo
 "Una dies pueri, quid rear esse mihi,
 "Qui semper pecco nunquamque miser resipisco,
 "Non metuens hominem despiciensque Deum?
 "Nec tamen ignorans pecco, sed prava scienter
 "Et prudens facio, flagitiosus ego.
 "Dumque miser meditor loquor ac operor mala, semper
 "Posteriore die deteriora sequor.
 "Pravus heri, pejor hodie, cras pessimus, ultra
 "Quonam progrediar, pronus in omne malum?
 3260 "Hinc est quod statuo me tradere religioni,
 "Cujus ero primus doctor et auctor ego.
 "Hanc ego quamcitus, Domino praestante, subibo,
 "Sollicitus vitae de brevitate meae.
 "Hac quoque de causa Romam devotus adibo,
 "Ut confirmetur hic novus ordo mihi.
 "Nec mihi difficile super his credo fore papam;
 "Assensum facilem curia tota dabit.
 "Et si forte velis vitam mutare, magister,
 "Consulo ne quoquam longius ire pares;
 3270 "Nec te discipulo pudeat tua colla, magister,
 "Subdere pro Domino proque salute tua.
 "Istud contingit in religione frequenter,
 "Quod major servit praeficiturque minor.
 "Digna sub indignis vivunt, rosa sub saliuncis,
 "Lilia sub tribulis, ne movearis in his.
 "Opprimit ingenuum servus stultusque disertum,
 "Injustus justum, nox tenebrosa polum.
 "Quod magis abjectum vel quod minus utile cernunt,
 "Majori studio magnificare solent,
 3280 "Exemplumque meae matris meditantur in actu,
 "Quod fuerat solita saepe referre mihi."

Narratio de tribus sororibus fatalibus

- "Ibant tres hominum curas relevare sorores,
 "Quas nos fatales dicimus esse deas.
 "Unus erat cultus tribus his eademque voluntas,
 "Naturae vitiis ferre salutis opem.
 "Et quod avara minus dederat vel prodiga multum,
 "His emendandi plurima cura fuit.
 "Dum graderentur ita casu reperere puellam
 "Colle sub umbroso, quae Jove digna foret.
 3290 "Nam formosa nimis, generoso stemmate nata,
 "Aequabat vultus nobilitate genus.
 "Propter eam superi, superis si nota fuisset,
 "Movissent magno praelia magna Jovi.

- "Jupiter ipse polo quam virgine se caruisse
 "Septenni spatio mallet et exul agi.
 "Nil tribuisse magis potuit natura decoris,
 "Si Styga jurasset vel Jove natū foret.
 "Planctibus illa tamen tantis lacrimisque vacabat,
 "Quod circumpositam saepe rigaret humum.
 "Nunc faciem caedens, nunc palmis pectora tundens
 3300 "Non requiescebat unguibus ora secans.
 "Hac igitur visa geminae voluere sorores
 "Ferre salutis opem, si licuisset eis;
 "Instabantque duae, dominam sociamque rogantes
 "Ut saltem sineret mitius esse malum,
 "Illa sed e contra vulta verbisque renitens
 "Obstitit et surda pertulit aure preces.
 "Sed ne sollicitas super his timidasque sorores
 "Et quasi contemptas redderet inquit eis:
 "Venimus, ut nostis, nos tres invisere mundum
 3310 "Ut ferremus opem, sed quibus esset opus.
 "Non opus est isti, quia quam natura beavit
 "In quantum potuit et quibus ausa fuit,
 "Cui genus et speciem formae tribuit specialem,
 "Ut sit utrumque nimis alterutrumque satis,
 "Quae majora sibi vel quae meliora daremus
 "Quam natura dedit officiosa satis?
 "Muneribus, gemmis quibus est ditata vel uno
 "Utatur, nostra non eget illa manu;
 "Cui natura satis et sufficientia prestat
 3320 "Debet id et nobis et satis esse sibi.
 "Forsitan auxilium si praestaremus eidem,
 "Posset de facili deteriora pati,
 "Obfuit augmentum multis, meliusque fuisset
 "Vivere contentos simplicitate sua,
 "Quaerere quam supra vires proprias aliena
 "Et vetitis pariter illicitisque frui.
 "Naturae studio quae non comitantur et usu
 "Succumbunt leviter deficiuntque cito.
 "Non patitur natura diu contraria jungi
 3330 "Nec sibi vim ferri; vult ratione regi.'
 "Dixit, et abscondens flentem tristemque reliquit,
 "Non immutato qui fuit ante statu.
 "Cumque recedentes ferventior ureret aestus,
 "Arctaretque nimis hinc calor, inde labor,
 "Vicini nemoris umbras petiere, volentes
 "Arentem gelido fonte levare sitim,
 "Jam nemus attigerant, sed et ecce puella venusta
 "Inque toro posita sola jacebat ibi;
 "Quae cum numinibus assurgere laeta parasset
 3340 "Non potuit multa mole retenta pedum.

- "Quod potuit fecit, sua brachia prona tetendit,
 "Obtulit et lepide verba salutis eis,
 "Edocuitque viam nemoris, qua parte serenus
 "Fons erat et vivas parturiebat aquas.
 "Addidit et dicens, 'Irem comes ipsa libenter
 "'Vobiscum, sinerent si mea fata mihi.
 "'Sed pedis et femorum tum pondere tumque dolore
 "'Haero continuo corpore fixa toro.
 3350 "'Huc ut obumbrarer alieno fulta ducatu
 "'Non proprio veni, sumque relicta mihi.'
 "Talibus auditis geminae flevire sorores,
 "Quaerentes dominam flectere flendo suam,
 "Cumque minis flerent multumque diuque rogarent,
 "Quatenus huic saltem redderet ipsa gradum,
 "Ut pedibus niti propriis possetque reverti
 "Sana, nec ulterius aegra tenere torum,
 "Illa nihil mota sed nec miserata sorores
 "Ibat, et exorsa taliter inquit eis:
 3360 "'Ut decet et debet, multa pietate moveri
 "'Vos bene conspicio votaue vestra scio.
 "'Sunt pia sed justa non sunt, quapropter oportet
 "'Jure repellantur quae ratione carent.
 "'Virginis illius pro qua me sollicitastis
 "'Quae sit conditio cernite, quisve status.
 "'Pondere pressa pedum prohibetur figere gressum,
 "'Haeret et assiduo pondere mersa toro.
 "'In membris aliis viget et specialia dona,
 "'Si bene pensetis, insita multa manent.
 3370 "'Hinc sensu mentis, hinc pollet acumine vocis,
 "'Moribus et studiis hinc vacat, inde viget.
 "'Gratia tanta sibi manuum concessa videtur,
 "'Quod vix aut nunquam possit habere parem.
 "'In tribus excellit, cum sit pulcherrima vultu,
 "'Pectore, voce, manu, sunt satis ista sibi.
 "'Sola decem possit satis exhibuisse puellis
 "'Ex manibus solis; sola quid ergo jacet?
 "'Non opus est igitur ditari munere nostro,
 "'Cui natura potens tot pretiosa dedit.
 3380 "'Officio privata pedum si languet in uno,
 "'In tribus aut certe quatuor ipsa viget.'
 "Talibus auditis lacrimas tenuere sorores,
 "Restantemque sibi corripuere viam.
 "Serior hora deas monet indulgere quieti,
 "Alternaque vice nocte levare diem.
 "Cumque forent positae, sese jam compositurae
 "Urbis in introitu, quae prope forte fuit,
 "Exiit in bivium ventrem purgare puella
 "Rustica, nil reverens inverecunda deas.

- 3390 "Vestibus elatis retro nimiumque rejectis,
 "Poplite deflexo, curva resedit humi.
 "Una manus foenum, panis tenet altera frustum,
 "Utraque dat dominae debita pensa suae;
 "Sed neque pro populo cessavit praetereunte,
 "Nec propter posita numina sacra prope.
 "Erubere duae visum, vultumque tegentes
 "Vestibus objectis arripuere fugam.
 "Tertia subsistens revocansque duae fugientes,
 "Ut quid,' ait, 'fugitis? sistite, quaesio, gradum.
 "'Quaenam causa mali? num somnia vana videtis?
 3400 "'Quod modo vidistis alter horizon erat,
 "'Non habuit melius quam quod nobis manifestum
 "'Fecit et ostendit simplicitate sua.
 "'Si natura potens miserae meliora dedisset,
 "'Non ita monstrasset cornua luna nova.
 "'Hic opus, hic opus est, non parcere, sed misereri
 "'Et festinando ferre levamen ei.
 "'Hic opus, hic opus est, ut diffundamus abunde,
 "'Et demus larga munera magna manu.
 "'Huic nihil omnino dives natura reliquit,
 3410 "'Haec eget, his opus est ut faciamus opem.
 "'Ista sua nunquam virtute resurgeret; isti
 "'Est pietatis opus ferre salutis opem.
 "'Si cadat ista semel, non est qui sublevet illam
 "'Nec quicquam proprium quo relevetur habet,
 "'Pauper, inops, et egens, quam sic natura creavit
 "'Insita, quod miserae gratia nulla manet.
 "'Non quem fortuna, sed quem natura beavit
 "'Munere virtutum divitis omen habet.
 "'Contra naturam nihil inseruisse valemus
 3420 "'Nec volumus, nisi quod de ratione licet.
 "'Intus et exterius sedem natura manebit
 "'Quae prius extiterat, sed status alter erit.
 "'Quodque nequit fieri, naturam degenerare
 "'Nolumus, injustas non decet esse deas.
 "'Res et opes adici possunt extraque liniri
 "'Naturae salva proprietate sua.
 "'Nos igitur, quibus est super his collata potestas,
 "'Demus abundanti munera magna manu,
 "'Divitias et opes, census, fundos et honores,
 3430 "'Praedia montana, pascua, prata, greges.
 "'Urbis et istius dominam statuamus eandem,
 "'Ut nihil in nostro munere desit ei.'
 "'Haec mea multotiens genitrix narrare solebat,
 "'Cujus me certe non meminisse pudet.
 "'Talibus exemplis in religione frequenter
 "'Multa solent fieri quae ratione carent.

- "Hic modus esse solet in religione, magister,
 "Illud oportebit te quoque saepe pati.
 "Illud ubique viget, haec sunt specialia multis,
 3440 "His praelatorum mos malus esse solet.
 "Haec sunt quae faciunt inconvenientia multa,
 "Et ne convenient pastor ovesque gregis,
 "Haec sunt quae pariunt in religione ruinas,
 "Scandala, contemptum, schismata, damna, dolum.
 "Cetera cum possit multis obnoxia virtus,
 "Contemptum proprium dissimulare nequit.
 "Nil gravius laedit mentem, nil altius urit,
 "Quam cum virtutum munera spreta jacent.
 "Cetera cum soleant etiam cum tempore labi,
 3450 "Hoc animum nunquam deseruisse solet.
 "Vulneris hoc genus est quod per medicamina crescit,
 "Et gravius tractu temporis ulcus habet.
 "Aspidis hoc animo facit instillare venenum,
 "Cui nihil antidotum praevaluisse potest.
 "Contemptum proprium qui ferre potest patienter,
 "Cetera de facili sustinuisse potest.
 "Omnia cum soleat victrix patientia ferre,
 "Victa sub hoc onere succubuisse solet."

Imprecatio Burnelli contra volentes sibi mala

- Talia dicenti subito de nare sinistra
 3460 Frigidus erupit sanguis, et ipse brevis.
 Quo statim viso dixit Burnellus: "Iniquum
 "Portendunt aliquid talia signa mihi.
 "Olim, nocte prius quam caudam mane molossi
 "Surripuere meam, contigit illud idem.
 "Prospera det Dominus mihi nunc et ab omine duro
 "Eruat! inque bonum sit cruor iste, precor!
 "Omne mane suo currens lepus et capra clauda
 "Obvia sint illis, qui mala nostra volunt!
 "Noctua prima precor sit avis quae mane sereno
 3470 "Exeat, occurrens hostibus atra meis!
 "Obvia nens veniat lanam de vellere nigro,
 "Deque colo taxi femina nuda pedes!
 "Mane senex calvus et vespere crine soluto
 "Hostis in occursum curva feratur anus.
 "Obvius occurrat utriusque coloris eisdem
 "Obstipo monachus vertice, voce carens.
 "Pauperis aut viduae veniens de funere tristi
 "Presbyter iratus ipse salutet eos.
 "Ad laevam bufo transversus corpore toto
 3480 "His prior occurrat et ferat ipse pedem.
 "Quique solet dici pestisque nocentior esse
 "Rusticus occurrat hostibus ipse meis."

Qualiter Bernardus supervenit, dominus Burnelli

Vix ea fatus ita cum rusticus ecce cruentus

Intrat et acclaudens ostia dixit ita:

"O Burnelle, mihi multos quaesite per annos,

"Et nunc fortuitu vixque reperte tamen!

"En ego! Bernardus, dominus tuus! en ego certe

"Sub quo praeterita crimina cuncta lues.

"Huc ades, accede! mecum gradieris ad urbem

3490 "Unde recessisti nocte patrando dolum.

"Et novus annus erat et sabbata sacra fuerunt,

"Tempore quo scelus hoc ausus es atque nefas.

"Et, bene si recolo, postquam me deseruisti,

"Quatuor aut quinque lustra dedere locum.

"Jam senio fractus jam viribus atque vigore

"Corporis effractus diceris esse senex.

"Absit ut ulterius quicquam nisi forte coactus

"Sive libens facias, absque labore tamen.

"Usibus addictus tantummodo cotidianis

3500 "Nil facies, nisi quod paucula ligna feres

"Sportellasque meas geminas duplicesque farinae

"Saccos, meque super; nec grave pondus ego."

Dixit, et injecto capiti de more capistro

Duxit et abduxit, fuste docente viam;

Et ne forte fugam rursus meditetur iniquam,

Subtrahat et domino debita pensa suo,

Funditus abscidit aurem Bernardus utramque,

Cautior ut fieret cauteriatus ita.

Animadversio Burnelli

Tunc Burnellus ait Bernardo: "Nunc scio vere,

3510 "Vertice cum cauda conveniente mea,

"Quod mihi sit verus sanctusque propheta locutus

"Parisius dudum, dum meditarer ibi.

"Hic quasi praeterita narravit saepe futura,

"Multaque praedixit non memoranda modo.

"Quicquid enim factum vel dixerit esse futurum,

"Fecerunt verbis facta secuta fidem.

"Saepius ille mihi de te quoque multa locutus

"Plurima praedixit quae memorabor adhuc.

"Nam nihil in terram cecidit quaecunque locutus,

3520 "Nec sunt privata pondere verba suo.

"Saepe meos casus et quae ventura super me

"Viderat exposuit praescius ille mihi.

"Prospera quinque mihi praedixit adesse futura,

"Postquam praeterita quinque sinistra forent.

"Quatuor ex quinque jam praeteriere sinistris

"Quae mihi praedixit ille propheta meus.

- "Quinta mihi superest, sed et ipsa novissima, plaga,
 "Quam sum passurus perpetiorque modo.
 "Ultimus ille dolor erit ultimus ille dolorum
 3530 "Terminus, et tanti meta laboris adest.
 "Ultima plaga mihi finem requiemque laborum
 "Conferet, et voto perfruar ipse meo.
 "Namque meis jam quinque malis modo sic superatis
 "Mox totidem venient prospera fata mihi.
 "Rusticus hic nequam, velut extitit ante dolorum
 "Principium nobis, sic quoque finis erit.
 "Prima mali causa contrarius atque rebellis
 "A puero coepit rusticus esse mihi.
 "Prima status nostri per eum mihi quaestio mota,
 3540 "Namque prius toto tempore liber eram.
 "Callidus ille prior sibi me servire coegit,
 "Fecerat et multum ferre laboris onus.
 "Sed vice conversa finem vexatio nostra
 "Unde prius coepit est habitura suum.
 "Non ego, crede mihi, sed rusticus ille malignus
 "Praestitit exemplum principiumque mali.
 "Unde suis meritis condigna rependere certe
 "Non erit indignum sed pietatis opus.
 "Lex antiqua jubet pro membro reddere membrum,
 3550 "Dentem dente, pedem restituisset pede.
 "Sic ego Bernardo faciam, nisi forte, quod absit,
 "Fata vocent alias quam mea vota velint.
 "O si Bernardus quae sunt ventura videret,
 "Et quam Burnellum gloria magna manet,
 "Non ita me premeret virga baculoque feriret,
 "Nec ferrum faceret in latus ire meum;
 "Sed potius prostratus humi vestigia nostra
 "Pronus adoraret porrigeretque preces."
 Talia Burnello secum meditante, Cremonam
 3560 Intrat et est domino subditus ipse suo.

De Bernardo

- Contigit interea Bernardo res memoranda,
 Quae satis in tota nota Cremona fuit.
 Fama frequens populi, ne tempore gesta senescant,
 Annorum senio consuluisse solet.
 Fama frequens populi rerum facies redivivas
 Suscitatur, et veteres res facit esse novas.
 Damna vetustatis morituraque tempora nobis
 Fama frequens redimit, gesta priora docens.
 Tres habuit pueros pauper Bernardus alendos,
 3570 Quarta fuit conjux, quintus asellus erat,
 Ille domus dominique sui substantia tota

- Solus erat, quamvis parva parumque valens.
 Ad fora ligna trahens sese dominumque domumque,
 Quinque labore suo solus alebat eos.
 Contigit ergo semel quod cum Bernardus ab urbe
 In nemus exisset ipse comesque suus,
 Audirent hominis velut existentis in antro
 Vox foret exclamans auxiliumque petens.
 Haesit et obstupuit primo Bernardus, at inde
 3580 Imposuit fronti signa sacrata crucis,
 Discernensque modum clamoris, vocis acumen
 Corporis humani comperit esse sonum;
 Designansque locum, quo vox diffusa per auras
 Clarius auditur, ire parabat eo.
 Sicque sonus vocis, vox verbi nuntia, tandem
 Nosse dat expressa verba quid ipsa velint.
 Nobilis atque potens, vir magnus ab urbe Cremona
 Forte Dryanus erat, dives et ipse nimis;
 Qui cum saepe canes sequeretur amore ferarum
 3590 In foveam lapsum contigit esse semel.
 Os erat angustum foveae, sed lata deorsum
 Atque profunda nimis et tenebrosa fuit;
 Corruerantque simul in eam leo, simia, serpens,
 Cum quibus et quartus ipse Dryanus erat.
 His tribus in foveam lapsis, collapsus et ipse,
 Hospes et invitus coeperat esse comes.
 Quisque sibi timuit tacuitque timore coactus
 Praeter eum cui vox aucta timore fuit.
 Quarta dies aderat ex quo clamore lugubri
 3600 Quaesierat vana voce salutis opem.
 Qua tamen excitus venit Bernardus et illum
 Poscit ut exponat quis sit et unde; refert
 Ille: "Dryanus ego miser et miserabilis hic sum,
 "Qui nuper fueram major in urbe mea.
 "Quisquis es, accede; fer opem miserumque misertus
 "Extrahe pro certo praemia magna feres.
 "Quicquid in humanis rebus mihi competit, illud
 "Pro mercede tua dimidiabo tibi.
 "Quoque magis possis securior esse, Deorum
 3610 "Per sacrosancta numina juro tibi."
 Talibus auditis spe lucri ductus ad antrum
 Rusticus accedens acceleravit opus.
 Vimine contextum funem dimittit, at illum
 Simia corripiens exit abitque cito.
 Tunc ita Bernardus Sathanas phantasmate lusum
 Se reputans dixit, "Vah! quid ineptus ago?
 "Ecce quod extraxi, dum debuit esse Dryanus,
 "Daemone fallente simia magna fuit.
 "Est locus infaustus, vox daemonis arsque maligna

- 3620 "Me male subvertit meque fefellit ita.
"Ergo revertar ego, signo crucis intitulatus,
"Ne quodcunque malum possit obesse mihi."
Talia dicentem magno clamore Dryanus
Advocat, adjurat, multiplicatque preces;
Et ne delusum sese phantasmate credat
Commemorat sanctos et sacra verba refert.
Postulat ut funem rursus dimittat in antrum,
Praemia ne pereant percipienda sibi.
Vincit amor lucri rursumque remittit ad ima
3630 Funem, sed frustra, spe pereunte sua.
Funibus immissis serpens exivit ab antro
Horridus aspectu, delituitque cito.
Quo viso Bernardus ait, "Tua dona, Dryane,
Respuo, cuncta tua sint tibi, tuque procul!
"Daemonibus plenus locus hic, phantasmata terra
"De gremio profert et nova monstra parit."
Jamque recessisset fugiens sine spe redeundi,
Spes nisi lucrandi detinuisset eum.
Spes et amor lucri cupidum vicere, Dryano
3640 Quas promissa juvant multiplicante preces.
Ordine quo supra, misero remanente Dryano,
Funibus immissis exiit ante leo,
Quam vel eos posset subito discernere visu,
Vel celeri missos corripuisse manu.
Palluit inspecta Bernardus ad ora leonis,
Concutit et gelidus omnia membra timor,
Nec remanere putat tutum nec voce timorem
Prodere nec celerem corripuisse fugam.
Si fugit, ecce! fame longa stimulante coactus
3650 Circuit esuriens ore fremente leo;
Si manet, exosus locus est quia daemone plenus,
Exactoque die nox metuenda venit.
Viribus elapsis sensum timor ebibit, artus
Deficiunt, domino deficiente suo.
Auget et ipsa metum vox exclamantis in antro,
Importuna satis et miseranda nimis.
Spondet opes et agros, turrita palatia spondet;
Quicquid spondere corde vel ore potest.
Jamque tot addiderat precibus promissa, quod ipsa
3660 Vox simul et ventus deficiebat ei.
Et pietate sua nisi plus innata cupido
Bernardum traheret ad pietatis opus,
Dixissent pariter et vox et vita 'Tu autem,'
'Supremumque vale' cuncta, Dryane, tibi.
Sed quia cuncta facit vincitque pericla cupido,
Convertit cupidi vota viamque viri.
Ardet anhela sitis et spe fallente laborem

- Amplius accensa crescit avara fames.
 Funibus immissis tandem Bernardus ab imo
 3670 Carceris horrendi triste levavit onus.
 Utque solent crebro varii contingere fines
 Casibus in variis praecipueque malis,
 Cum prope jam putei foret egressurus ab ore,
 Jamque pedem laetus depositurus humo,
 Rupto fune miser rursus cecidisset ad ima,
 Ni cito Bernardi dextra tulisset opem,
 Qui subito casu capiens retinensque ruentem
 Longius abstraxit restituitque suis.
 Sic patriae domuique suae rebusque Dryanus
 3680 Redditus, evasit damna, pericla, necem.

- Evasio Dryani et ejus perfidia describitur
 Quo facto Bernardus adest poscitque Dryanum
 Ut firmata fide pacta tenere velit.
 Quem quia mutata facie considerat, olim
 Facta recordatur et sua pacta petit;
 Et si non possit servare per omnia pactum,
 Vel saltem pacti pars quota detur ei.
 Ille sed e contra pactum negat huncque furoris
 Arguit et canibus arcet ab aede sua;
 Quoque magis cogat miserum reticere, minatur
 3690 Privandum capitis proprietate sui.
 Obstupefactus ad hoc verbum Bernardus ab aula
 Festinans digito comprimit ora suo;
 Compertoque satis quod sit metuenda potestas,
 Atque quod interdum divitis ira furor,
 Tutius esse putat linguam cohibere, Dryanum
 Quam de promisso sollicitare suo.
 Nam cui sunt etiam suspecta silentia, certe
 Verba magis fieri suspiciosa solent.
 Divitis offensam non est incurrere tutum,
 3700 Cujus rara fides et metuendus amor.

De remuneratione facta Bernardo per simiam,
 leonem, et serpentem

- Cumque die quarto silvam Bernardus adisset,
 Burnello dominum more sequente suum,
 En leo deposita solita feritate, ferinis
 Carnibus oblati, annuit ore, pede.
 Sicque vicem meritis referens gratesque rependens,
 Et quacumque potest parte juvare juvans,
 De grege cervorum quod pinguius esse putabat
 Abstulit et domino contulit ipse suo.

- Vertice submisso nec dum remeante leone
3710 Venit et in dorso simia ligna tulit,
Lignorumque struem positam prope quam prius ipse
Fecerat ex sicco, praemia monstrat ei,
Quam sibi tollendam se collegisse revelat
Nutibus et signis officiosa suis.
Nec semel aut iterum fuit hoc iterare, sed omni
Quo Bernardus adest constituere die.
Haec duo cotidie, carnes et ligna parata,
In nemus adveniens accipiebat ibi.
Sed neque serpenti labor est impensus inanis,
3720 Munere qui modico maxima dona dedit;
Nam semel accedens supplex similisque volenti,
Si posset, grates voce referre sua
Faucibus inclusam gemmam dimisit ab ore,
Imposuitque manu suscipientis eam.
Neve moram faciens faceret collata minoris
Ponderis et pretii dona timore sui,
Protinus effugiens doni dantisque favorem
Auget, et obtentu fit fuga grata suo.
Cujus enim non est praesentia grata videnti,
3730 Dona parum sapiunt et sua verba minus.
Talia Barnardus cernens sensumque ferarum
Factaque dinumerans hinc stupet, inde probat,
Carnes, ligna, lapis, quae dant leo, simia, serpens,
Moribus ingenuas praedicat esse feras.
Bestia pro meritis dum praemia digna rependit,
Arguit ingratos immemoresque boni.
Quod bene Bernardus, male respondente Dryano
Pro meritis tantis, se didicisse probat.
Munere dotatus tanto Bernardus ad urbem
3740 Festinat, laeto corde juvante pedem;
Atque sui lapidis vires cognoscere quaerens
Artifices lapidum sollicitare studet.
Sed lapis ignotus, nec in urbe repertus eadem
Antea, scire negant insita dona sibi.
Quem tamen aeris egens tandem distraxit, et auri
Pondere pro triplici fecit abesse sibi.
Cumque domum rediens vellet numerare monetam,
Quam retinere magis quam numerare juvat,
Quem modo vendiderat lapidem, pretiumque tenebat,
3750 Impositum oculis comperit esse suis.
Quem retinere volens timuit, quia principis illum
Emerat eunuchus, vir bene notus ei.
Unde celer veniens, simulans errore retentum,
Reddidit emptori fida timore manus.
Vix Bernardus erat intra sua tecta receptus,
Cum lapis in oculis ecce reversus adest.

- Reddidit eunucho rursus velut ante relatum,
 Sed redeunte domum rursus et ipse redit.
 Jamque reversus erat totiens totiensque relatus,
 3760 Et vice conversa res variata fuit,
 Quod murmur populi regis pervenit ad aures
 Et rumor lapidis se referentis ita.
 Qui novitate rei ductus praecepit adesse
 Non lapidem solum sed simul hunc et eos.
 Partibus accitis mixtus cum divite pauper
 Intrat, et ingressus atria lata replet.
 Sub damno capitis, sub conditionis et urbis,
 Subque fide Christi, quaque tenentur ei,
 Rex jubet ut si quis factum factique tenorem
 3770 Noverit, impune dicat et absque metu;
 Quae sit causa latens, quam ratione lapillum
 Coliatum totiens, nil retinere queat;
 Unde sit allatus uel qua regione repertus,
 Quod sit ei nomen, gloria si qua latet.

Responsio Bernardi

- Surgit ad hanc vocem poscensque silentia solus
 Bernardus regis procidit ante pedes;
 Exurgensque statim positoque timore, resumptis
 Viribus ebibitis, ora resolvit ita:
 "Quatuor in puteum nuper cecidere profundum,
 3780 "Ex quibus unus homo tresque fuere ferae.
 "Exitus omnis eis fuit interdictus et esset
 "Tempus in omne suum, ni mea cura foret;
 "Namque loci talis puteus fuit, ordine tali
 "Depositus, caeca nocte tegente diem,
 "Quod semel illapsus semper remaneret ibidem,
 "Si non alterius cura levasset eum.
 "Dum nemus ingrederer, solo comitatus asello,
 "Auribus insonuit vox miseranda meis,
 "Quam dum persequerem multo discrimine tandem
 3790 "Assequor, inquirens quaeve vel unde foret.
 "Quae mihi respondit, quoniam foret illa Dryani
 "Qui jam factus erat quatrIduanus ibi,
 "In puteum lapsi fuerant leo, simia, serpens,
 "Hospes et ipse tribus quartus adauctus erat.
 "Sed tamen id tacuit, ne me terreret eorum
 "Nomine prolato corriperemque fugam.
 "Sed de postfacto res est patefacta, fuitque
 "Nota satis misero teste labore meo.
 "Anxius ille nimis mortisque timore coactus
 3800 "Hinc spondebat opes, inde petebat opem.
 "Juravitque mihi per numina summa, suumque

- "Baptismum, Christi per caput atque pedes,
"Per sanctum Jacobum, per Thomam Cantuariensem,
"Quos etiam nudo vovit adire pede:
"Quod mihi res et opes, sed et omnia dimidiaret,
"Si meus inde labor tollere posset eum.
"Spes et amor lucri multum suasere, Dryano
"Multiplicante preces, ut misereretur ei.
"Sed plus teste Deo vicit miseratio mentem
3810 "Et dolor et gemitus quam sua dona meam,
"Junctaque cum lacrimis tandem miseratio mentis
"Persuadendo simul vimque ferendo mihi.
"Artibus ergo meis, multo comitante labore,
"Quid factum fuerit facta loquuntur adhuc.
"Quod leo, quod serpens, quod simia non perierunt,
"Non ego Bernardus causa, sed ille fuit.
"Nam, nisi propter eum, quia cetera turba latebat,
"Qua prece, quo pretio, curque gravarer ego?
"Quatuor extraxi, fuit ille novissimus horum,
3820 "Cum quibus et primum nollet habere locum,
"Ultimus exivit sed vix tardeque Dryanus,
"Non quia tardus ego, sed gravis ille fuit.
"Ergo gravem dixi, quem multo tum graviorem
"Optarem stricto jure fuisse meo.
"Rupta forent utinam mea vincula cuncta repente,
"Et me frustrassent arsque laborque meus.
"Funibus abruptis puteus clausisset iniquum,
"Texissetque suum nox tenebrosa caput.
"Reddidit obsequium dignum mihi cura ferarum,
3830 "Et majora dedit dona labore meo.
"Nam leo cotidie carnes de caede ferarum
"Praestat, et adventum praevenit ipse meum.
"Simia ligna legit, quae tuto lecta reponit
"Inque loco certo praeparat illa mihi.
"Hinc quotiens quantumque volo mihi tollere tollo,
"Tanquam pro meritis certa tributa meis.
"Hunc etiam lapidem serpentis ab ore recepi,
"Propter quem praesens quaestio mota fuit.
"Cui tamen an alia quam quod nequeat retineri
3840 "Insita sit virtus, nescio, teste Deo.
"Haec ita sunt, domine me rex; aliterque locutum
"Quam fuerit servum non reor esse tuum.
"Ipse velim sine me quaeras faciasque requiri,
"Vera rei series quae sit et an sit ita.
"Praemia veridicus capiam, falsumque locutus
"Si fuero, gladio vel cruce plectar ego."

Sententia regis pro Bernardo contra Dryanum
Talibus auditis rex jussit adesse Dryanum;

- Nec mora, jussus adest, infitiatur opus.
 Sed quia de facto regi constabat, et ipsa
 3850 Res fuit indicii certificata tribus,
 Protulit edictum, vel consentire Dryanum,
 Ut cum Bernardo dimidiaret opes,
 Vel quod per triduum putei loca nota subiret,
 Adjunctus tribus his cum quibus ante fuit.
 In commune placet cunctis sententia regis,
 Bernardoque satis res ita gesta placet.
 Maluit ergo sua se dimidiare Dryanus,
 Et servare simul pacta fidemque suam,
 Quam se fortunae tali committere, totum
 3860 Quae sibi surriperet dimidiando nihil.
 Dimidians igitur Bernardo cuncta, Dryanus
 Tristis et invitus dimidiata dedit.
 Nec minus ingrati nomenque notamque perennem
 Incurrit facti conditione sui.
- Ex tunc Bernardus fit dives, flente Dryano,
 Quod sic perdidderat tanta, dolore gravi.
 Taliter ecce luunt ingrati saepe, quod ipsi
 Non reddunt digna praemia pro meritis.
 Expedit idcirco melius quandoque dedisse
 3870 Corde libenti quam detinuisse manum.
 Maxime pro meritis impendere praemia digna
 Est pietatis opus et jubet ista Deus.
 Non hominis labor aut opus usque moretur apud te
 Mane, quod hinc non sit clamor in aure Dei.
 Et nova lex dicit quod quilibet est bene dignus
 Vir mercede sua, teste labore suo.
 Ergo qui non dat, dum tempus postulat aut res,
 Suscitatur ipse sibi damna nociva nimis.
 Cedat in exemplum cunctis viventibus ista
 3880 Burnelli vita, nam docet auctor ita.
 Non quod verba sonant sed quicquid mystice signant,
 Scrutetur lector caute quid ipsa velint.
 Designare sibi poterit tunc forte videre
 Plura pericla mali jure cavenda sibi.
 Nam sunt nonnulli transcendere magna volentes,
 Et nituntur ad hoc nocte dieque simul.
 Qui dum magna petunt et semper ardua tendunt,
 Saepe repente ruunt saepeque deficiunt.
 Contra naturam vel sortem quaerere quicquam,
 3890 Nemo potest illud reddere vel facere;
 Burnello teste, qui, dum quaesivit inepta,
 Semper permansit quod prius ipse fuit.
 Est igitur felix aliena pericula cautum
 Quem faciunt, formant et ratione regi.

Plura loqui possem sed nolo scribere plura,
Sufficiant ista carmina tam modica.
Deprecor ergo pia prece, si quid lector in illis
Inveniat vitium vel ratione carens,
Corrigat ipse pie, me commendando Mariae
Felici Nato, quod roget omnis homo!

3900

Explicit Speculum Stultorum

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations of printed materials have been used in the notes to the introduction and text.

- Anthol. Gr. Anthologia Graeca, ed. W. R. Paton (London, 1916-1918), 5 vols.
- Anthol. Lat. Anthologia Latina, ed. A. Riese (Leipzig, 1869-1870), 2 vols.
- Auson. Ausonius, D. M., Opera Omnia, ed. H. G. E. White (London, 1919-1921), 2 vols.
- Avian. Avianus, F., Fabulae, ed. J. W. Duff and A. M. Duff in Minor Latin Poets (London, 1934), pp. 669-749
- Boeth. Boethius, A. M. S., Consolatio Philosophiae, ed. E. K. Rand (London, 1918)
- Cato Cato, D., Liber Disticha de Moribus, ed. F. Hauthal (Leipzig, 1869)
- CB Carmina Burana, ed. A. Hilka and O. Schumann, I (Heidelberg, 1930-1941)
- Cic. Cicero, M. T., Opera Omnia, ed. C. F. W. Mueller (Leipzig, 1878-1898), 8 vols.
- Claud. Claudianus, C. Opera Omnia, ed. M. Platnauer (London, 1922), 2 vols.
- Ecb. Capt. Ecbasis Captivi, ed. E. Voigt (Strassburg, 1875)
- Ed. Col. Cologne edition of the Speculum Stultorum
- Ed. Franc. Frankfurt edition of the Speculum Stultorum
- Ed. Lips. Leipzig edition of the Speculum Stultorum
- Ed. Par. Paris edition of the Speculum Stultorum
- Ed. Ultr. Utrecht edition of the Speculum Stultorum
- Fec. Rat. Egbert of Liège, Fecunda Ratis, ed. E. Voigt (Halle, 1889)
- Hervieux Hervieux, L., Les Fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge (Paris, 1893-1899), 5 vols.
- Juv. Iuvenalis, D. I., Saturae, ed. A. E. Housman (Cambridge, 1938)
- Knowles Knowles, D., The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge, 1949)
- Lucan Lucanus, M. A., De Bello Civili, ed. J. D. Duff (London, 1928)
- Lucr. Lucretius Caro, T., De Rerum Natura, ed. W. H. D. Rouse (London, 1924)
- Map Map, W., De Nugis Curialium, ed. M. R. James (Oxford, 1914)
- Maxim. Maximianus, Elegies, ed. R. Webster (Princeton, 1900)

<u>MGH</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi</u> (Hanover and Berlin, 1877-1919)
<u>MGHE.</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae</u> (Hanover and Berlin, 1887-1939)
<u>MGHP. Car.</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini</u> (Hanover and Berlin, 1880-1939)
<u>MGHS.</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores</u> (Hanover and Berlin, 1826-1933)
<u>Morawski</u>	Morawski, J., <u>Proverbes français antérieurs au XV^e siècle</u> (Paris, 1925)
<u>Ov.</u>	Ovidius Naso, P., <u>Opera Omnia</u> , ed. A. Richter (Leipzig, 1828), 3 vols.
<u>Pers.</u>	Persius Flaccus, A., <u>Saturae</u> , ed. W. V. Clausen (Oxford, 1956)
<u>Phaedr.</u>	Phaedrus, <u>Fabulae</u> , ed. L. Mueller (Leipzig, 1881)
<u>PL</u>	<u>Patrologia Latina</u> , ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1884-1864), 217 vols.
<u>Plin.</u>	Plinius Secundus, C., <u>Naturalis Historia</u> , ed. C. Mayhoff (Leipzig, 1875-1906), 5 vols.
<u>Poole</u>	Poole, A. L., <u>From Domesday Book to Magna Carta</u> , 1087-1216 (Oxford, 1951)
<u>Prud.</u>	Prudentius Clemens, A., <u>Opera Omnia</u> , ed. H. J. Thomson (London, 1949-1953), 2 vols.
<u>Raby</u>	Raby, F. J. E., <u>A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages</u> (Oxford, 1934), 2 vols.
<u>RSB</u>	Benedict, St., <u>Regula Monachorum</u> , ed. C. Butler (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1912)
<u>Sedgwick</u>	Sedgwick, W. B., "The Textual Criticism of Mediaeval Latin Poets," <u>Speculum</u> , V (1930), 288-305
<u>Sen.</u>	Seneca, L. A., <u>Opera Omnia</u> , ed. F. Haase (Leipzig, 1874-1878), 3 vols.
<u>Sid.</u>	Sidonius, G. S. M. A., <u>Epistolae et Carmina</u> , ed. C. Luetjohann (Berlin, 1887)
<u>Singer</u>	Singer, S., <u>Sprichwörter des Mittelalters</u> , II (Bern, 1946), III (Bern, 1947)
<u>Skutsch</u>	Skutsch, O., "Three Rare Words from Nigel's <u>Speculum Stultorum</u> ," <u>Bulletin du Cange</u> , II (1936), 29-31
<u>Stat.</u>	Statius, P. P., <u>Opera Omnia</u> , ed. J. H. Mozley (London, 1928), 2 vols.
<u>Suet.</u>	Suetonius, C. T., <u>Opera Omnia</u> , ed. M. Ihm (Leipzig, 1923)
<u>SS</u>	<u>Speculum Stultorum</u>
<u>Ter.</u>	Terentius, P. A., <u>Comoediae</u> , ed. A. Fleckeisen (Leipzig, 1898)
<u>TLL</u>	<u>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</u> (Leipzig, 1900)

<u>Tractatus</u>	<u>Tractatus Contra Curiales et Officiales Clericos</u> in <u>Wright</u> , I, pp. 146 230
<u>Verg.</u>	Vergilius Maro, P., <u>Opera Omnia</u> , ed. F. A. Hirtzel (Oxford, 1900)
<u>Werner</u>	Werner, J., <u>Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters</u> (Heidelberg, 1912)
<u>Wright</u>	<u>Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century</u> , ed. T. Wright (London, 1872), 2 vols.
<u>Ysengr.</u>	Nivard of Ghent, <u>Ysengrimus</u> , ed. E. Voigt (Halle, 1884)

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

(Pages 1-28)

¹The date of Nigel's birth is largely a matter of conjecture. We know from his opening remarks in the SS that by 1180 he was an old man (veteris Nigelli). His surname derives from Cotton Vespasian MS. D xix, a unique copy of his miscellaneous and religious poems, where the title NIGELLI DE LONGO CAMPO is written in capitals contemporary with that of the text. A number of reasons make it likely, though not absolutely certain, that the manuscript is an autograph of the author. They may be given summarily here: (1) The date is in favor, the handwriting being that of the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. (2) The title on f. 1b probably implied ownership, the book being originally Nigel's and then having passed into the possession of the chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, as is shown by the words written at the top of the same page, but in a different hand, "Hic liber est ecclesie Xti Cant.: qui illum inde abstulerit auferat eum dominus de libro vite"; since the poems that follow are with two exceptions undoubtedly by Nigel, there is a strong presumption that Nigel wrote them out himself as a fair copy (his rough copies present a very different appearance as may be seen from the example in the Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS. 487 of the Tractatus). (3) The faults of transcription are rare; on the other hand, the blanks left in the Passio Sancti Laurentii on ff. 38, 40, 41, and the fact that on f. 44 eight lines have been crammed into the space of six, point to an author rather than to a mere scribe. (4) Immediately after no. vi of the Miracula B.V.M., there is a short meditation on rest that gives relief from weariness, which could have appropriately come from a man who was both their author and their scribe. (5) Proper names have no capitals, except that of the author himself, which occurs on ff. 2 and 45b; and at the end of no. xi of the miscellaneous poems (f. 4) his name is purposely omitted ("cum sociis prior alme tuis miserere [Nigelli]"). (6) The poems are all written in the same hand, except the very two that are probably not by Nigel, "quid deceat monachum" and "vitam claudit hominum." Longchamps is in the arrondissement des Andelis in the canton d'Estrepagni in Normandy.

The spurious surname "Wireker" borne by Nigel in manuals and histories of medieval literature derives solely from J. Bale who in his Index Britanniae Scriptorum (edd. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson, [Oxford, 1902]), p. 311, wrote: "Nigellus de Wirekere, monachus Cantuariensis," together with a reference to the collections of Grimald. He repeated the ascription in his Scriptorum Britanniae Catalogus (Basle, 1557), p. 245: "Nigellus Wireker." Although John Leland had not mentioned the name, later antiquaries, such as Pits and Bernard, followed Bale. There is

also an inscription in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Digby 27, a fifteenth-century manuscript of the SS, in a later hand: "Nigellus Wireacre est autor istius libri." J. H. Mozley, "Nigel Wireker or Wetekere," Modern Language Review, XXII (1932), 314-317, suggested that Bale misread "Wireker" for Wetekere or Wetekere, a name supposedly derived from the hamlet of Whitacre in Kent. But the ascription must be considered false in the light of the fresh evidence concerning Nigel's family history presented in note 2.

²Our information about Nigel's family history comes mainly from two rentals in the chapter archives of Canterbury Cathedral, Rental H, ff. 6a, 11b, 226a, and Lit. MS. B 14, ff. 7a and 13b, recording a series of semiannual payments of two shillings between 1178 and 1200 for a house belonging to the Cathedral and situated south of St. Margaret's Church in a then-as-now fashionable quarter of the city. The lessee of this property is alternately described therein as "Agatha de Sarneis," "Agatha filia Gilberti de Sarneis," and "Agatha soror Nigelli monachi nostri." William Urry, Archivist of Canterbury, writes: "If there were more than one Nigel at the time, then some mark of differentiation would be expected to distinguish one from the other, but since no distinguishing name is added to that of the Nigel 'Our Monk,' it is not rash to assume that we have there the author of the SS." Gilbert de Sarneis is evidently the Gilbert de Sarneis who, in company with his brother, Godfrey de Sarneis, and a certain Robert de Sarneis, attests to a purchase of land by Wilbert, the sub-prior of Christ Church, in 1152 (Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters in the British Museum, I: William I—Richard I, ed. G. F. Warner and H. J. Ellis [London, 1903], no. 9). Ivo, Nigel's brother, bought ground held by St. Mildred's Church between 1230 and 1240 (cf. The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, commonly called the Black Book, ed. G. J. Turner and H. E. Salter, Part II [London, 1924], pp. 580-581). Sarneia is the latin name for Guernsey.

³Tractatus, p. 203. That Nigel was familiar with Paris is clear from his description of the city and its student life in SS 1513-1570.

⁴Nigel must have joined the chapter of Christ Church before 1170 because he was personally acquainted with St. Thomas Becket as the titular head of his community (Tractatus, p. 155). He himself tells us that he was a priest (*ibid.*, p. 153). According to J. Leland (Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, I [Oxford, 1709], 228), Nigel held the office of precentor: yet there is no precentor of his name in the extant obituaries of the priory, although the entry "Nigellus sacerdos et monachus" occurs three times. Cf. J. A. Herbert, "Nigel," Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1895), p. 62. There is no certainty as to the date of Nigel's death, but if he wrote the Cotton Ves-

pasian MS. D xix, it is not likely that he died before the early thirteenth century.

⁵A. Boutemy printed the list of archbishops in his article, "A propos d'un manuscrit du Tractatus Contra Curiales et Officiales Clericos de Nigellus de Longchamps," Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, XII (1933), 987-1003, and the Vita Pauli in his article, "Une vie inédite de Paul de Thebes," ibid., X (1931), 931-963. One of the miscellaneous poems, De fortunae bonis, has been edited by Raby, II, pp. 349-350. For a detailed description of the entire collection of poems, see J. H. Mozley, "The Unprinted Poems of Nigel Wireker," Speculum, VII (1932), 398-423.

⁶Wright, I, pp. 146-230. The Tractatus was composed in 1193-1194 and dedicated to Nigel's patron, William de Longchamps, then Bishop of Ely and Chancellor of England under Richard I.

⁷Leland, Commentarii, p. 228, and Bale, Index Britanniae, p. 311.

⁸Nigel's criticism of William de Longchamps runs through the Tractatus. For his attack on Foliot, see SS 755-772.

⁹Cf. SS 1503-1570 and Tractatus, pp. 164-165.

¹⁰Cf. Mozley, "The Unprinted Poems," 401-403, and the Epistolae Cantuarienses, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1865), no. 326, p. 312. For his attack on kings and bishops in the SS, see ll. 2559-2814 and the notes on pp. 173-176.

¹¹Tractatus, pp. 211-212.

¹²E. K. Rand, "The Medieval Pattern of Life," in Studies in Civilization (Philadelphia, 1941), p. 59.

¹³For the date of the SS and its dedication to William, see A. Boutemy, "Sur le 'prologue en prose' et la date du Speculum Stultorum," Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, I (1934) 67-90. For a later addition by the author, see SS 2211-2222 and note.

¹⁴Wright, I, pp. 3-10, printed the epistle as a prose prologue to the SS. Its true nature and date were pointed out by Boutemy, "Sur le prologue en prose," 67-72.

¹⁵Wright, I, p. 5.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 9-10.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 10, and SS 2413-2464.

¹⁸Wright, I, pp. 4-5, 8.

¹⁹SS 3885-3892.

²⁰Ibid., 3893-3894.

²¹Wright, I, pp. 5-7.

²²Ibid., p. 9.

²³SS 3434-3458.

²⁴Avian, 5; John of Salisbury, Entheticus ad Policraticum 24, ed. C. C. I. Webb, I (Oxford, 1909), 7; W. Meyer, "Zwei Gedichte zur Geschichte der Cistercienser Ordens," Göttingen Nachrichten, III (1908) 389, l. 116; Archpoet, Carm. 5. 23. 3, ed. K. Langosch, Hymnen und Vagantenlieder (Basel, 1954), p. 244; CB 42. 1.

²⁵SS 57-66.

²⁶Ysengr. 5. 997-1040.

²⁷Cf. K. Krohn, Bär und Fuchs (Helsinki, 1889) and G. W. Dasent, Popular Tales from the Norse (Edinburgh, 1903), p. 210.

²⁸Cf. Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folk-Tale: Antti Aarne's Verzeichnis der Märchentypen (Helsinki, 1928), ff. no. 3; J. Bolte and G. Polívka, Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm, II (Leipzig, 1915), 111; O. Dähnhardt, Natursagen, III (Leipzig, 1910), 49; Ysengr. 2. 71-117; Odo of Cheriton, Fabulae 74, Hervieux, II, pp. 245-246; Le Roman du Renart, ed. M. Méon, I (Paris, 1826), 29-35, 44-48.

²⁹Ecb. Capt. 140-204.

³⁰On the Norn legend, see Thompson, Types of Folk-Tale, type no. 503; Bolte and Polívka, Anmerkungen, III (1917), 324; U. Holmberg, Finn-Ugric Mythology (Boston, 1927), pp. 256-258; N. Kershaw, Stories and Ballads from the Far Past (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 35-37; J. A. MacCullough, Medieval Faith and Fable (London, 1932), pp. 38-39, and Celtic Myth (Boston, 1918), pp. 206-213; P. D. C. Saussaye, The Religion of the Teutons, trans. B. J. Vos (Boston, 1902), p. 312; J. Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. J. S. Stallybrass, I (London, 1880), 341. For the oft-noted resemblance between Norns and fays of medieval romance, see L. A. Paton, Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance (Boston, 1903), p. 193 n. 1.

³¹A. Maury, Croyance et légendes du moyen âge (Paris, 1896), pp. 22-23; Kershaw, Stories and Ballads, p. 36.

³²Saxo Grammaticus, Gesta Danorum 6. 55, ed. A. Holder (Strassburg, 1886), pp. 181-182; Burchard of Worms, Collectio Decretorum 19. 5, col. 960, PL, CXL.

³³SS 3301-3332, 3351 3380.

³⁴Pers. 3. 1-7.

³⁵T. Benfey, Pantschatantra, I (Leipzig, 1859), 128-132. The tale appears in Bk. 1, App. 2, of the original Sanskrit version. It is found only in the Berlin manuscript.

³⁶Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ed. H. R. Luard, II (London, 1874), 283.

³⁷Betha Colaim Chille, Life of Columcille, compiled by Manus O'Donnell in 1532, ed. A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle (Urbana, 1918), pp. 131, 135; W. Stokes, The Martyrology of Oengus and Culdee (London, 1893), p. 30; C. G. Loomis, White Magic (Cambridge, 1948), p. 48; T. P. Cross, Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature (Bloomington, 1952), p. 169.

³⁸SS 2111-2182.

³⁹Wright, I, p. 10.

⁴⁰Raby, II, p. 98.

⁴¹SS 2451-2456.

⁴²SS 2301-2314.

⁴³SS 2199-2208.

⁴⁴SS 2127-2136.

⁴⁵Cf. the notes to SS 2051-2412.

⁴⁶For this type of invective, see Raby, I, pp. 317-348, II, pp. 45-54.

⁴⁷SS 2495-3232.

⁴⁸For a comprehensive study of Nigel's language, see J. H. Mozley, "The Latinity of Nigel de Longchamps," Bulletin du Cange, XIV (1939), 5-22.

⁴⁹Gerald of Wales, Planctus Humanae Miseriae 5 and Versus puerilis aetatis et primo discipuli ad magistrum 10, ed. J. S. Brewer, Opera, I (London, 1861): SS 317, 2380; Odo of Cheriton, Fabulae 5, Hervieux, II, p. 608: SS 137-138; Eberhard of Béthune, Laborintus 914, ed. E. Faral, Les Arts Poétiques du XII^e et XIII^e siècle (Paris, 1924): SS 2491; Albert of Stade, Troilus 4. 583, ed. T. Merzdorf (Leipzig, 1875): SS 3893-3894.

⁵⁰G. Boccaccio, Il Decameron, ed. A. F. Massera (Bari, 1927), I, iv, 3, p. 360: SS 2508-2510. Boccaccio explicitly refers to the SS in a letter: Le Lettere Autographe Di Giovanni Boccaccio del Codice Laurenziano XXIX 8, ed. G. Traversari, IV (Castelfiorentino, 1905), p. 71.

⁵¹The Parlement of Foules 309-315, ed. F. N. Robinson, The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Cambridge, 1933), p. 366, and The Nonnes Preestes Tale 3312-3316, *ibid.*, p. 244: SS 2901-2906.

⁵²On Gower's use of the SS in the Vox Clamantis, see my article, "Gower's Vox Clamantis and the Speculum Stultorum," Modern Language Notes, LXX (1955), 315-320. His indebtedness to Nigel in Confessio Amantis 5. 4937-5162, was noted by his editor, G. C. Macaulay, Complete Works, III (Oxford, 1901), pp. 502-503. He quotes SS 2347 in Mirour de L'Omme 21157-21158 (*ibid.*, I [1899], 238-239).

⁵³The interpolation is found in the four manuscripts designated DGIK and is edited for the first time in Appendix A.

⁵⁴Hoffman von Fallersleben, Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes (Hanover, 1861), pp. 85-87. The poem is found in Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS. 4459, f. 26b, at the end of a prose paraphrase of the SS.

⁵⁵The Asloan Manuscript: A Miscellany in Verse and Prose, Written by John Asloan in the Reign of James V, ed. W. Craigie, II (Edinburgh, 1923), 131-136.

⁵⁶The extant manuscripts are described on pp. 9-15. Christ Church, Canterbury, had three copies that have not come down to us (M. R. James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover [Cambridge, 1903], nos. 545, 709, 1434); St. Augustine's Priory, Canterbury, had four (*ibid.*, nos. 485, 871, 1541, 1557); Dover Priory had two (*ibid.*, nos. 105, 106). Other copies were

in Syon Abbey (M. Bateson, Catalogue of Syon Abbey [Cambridge, 1898], p. 236) and in St. Mary's College, Winchester (W. H. Gunner, "Catalogue of Books belonging to the College of St. Mary, Winchester," Archeological Journal, XVI [1858] 70).

⁵⁷Cf. pp. 15-16.

⁵⁸I. Weber, De Nigello Wirekero (Leipzig, 1679), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁹Since this edition went to press, Professor Anton Blaschka of Halle has published two articles describing a "sammelhandschrift" of the mid-fifteenth century, Gräfllich Stolbergische Bibliothek, Wernigerode, MS 89, now in the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Halle (Saale), which contains on folios 1-46b a hitherto unnoticed version of the SS and the explanatory letter to William. The articles, which Mr. Charles R. D. Miller, Executive Secretary of the Mediaeval Academy of America, kindly made available to me in offprint, are entitled "Monumentum Thorunense" and "Die neue Handschrift U des Speculum stultorum"; both appeared in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, VII (1958), 715-726, 727-738. To judge from the variants from Wright quoted by Professor Blaschka, the Halle manuscript would appear to belong to the class of those manuscripts which my colleague has designated as mixed, that is, those belonging in entirety to neither the a nor the b tradition.

⁶⁰D. Iunii Iuuenalis, Saturae, ed. A. E. Housman (Cambridge, 1938), p. xxiv.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

Textual Notes

For the manuscript sigla, see page 9 and following. The consensus of ADKM is here represented by a, the consensus of BEFHLS by b, and the consensus of kmSTuVz by c.

Prologus Auctoris A Prologus Metricus K De Asino qui uolebat caudam auferri et nouam creari L De Asino qui caudam suam uoluit ampliari M Burnelli Speculum (Sp. B. F) merito liber iste uocatur / Cuius sub specie stultorum uita notatur EF Incipit Tractatus S om. DBH 1 tibi ab tui EF 2 arata SH arato ab 6 materies Ed. materie codd. 12 seria quandoque ab utilia quando K 17 reuolo aL recordor b 23(5) Ulixes (e) ab Uluxes (e) AML 24 instabiles non habet EFL instabiles nunc habet habet (habet et M) a et stabiles non habet BH 26 erat bD erit AMK stultus erat L 33 prodigiosos b prodigiosus aFS 36 conspicit ed. Lips. constitit ab cum sciat R (cf. se peperisse uidet Nigelli Miracula B. V. M. 17. 84) 49 tendit EL 51 quod quilibet c 53 cum quis ab quisquam BH 54 reor EF 58-59 om. M 67 factus suus SBH factus fuit (felix D et supr. in K) ab 68-71 fortunam . . . ex alieno om. M 73 nullo E nulla ab De Asino qui uoluit caudam suam longiorem fieri AH Incipit historia de Asino D Asinus medicos consuluit super cauda prolonganda EFL Contra cupiditatem Ex emplum de Asino B (alii alia) 81 donatus ab dotatus DKH 83 negebat F 87 nequibat a negabat b (-bit EL) 88 putabit EL Responsio Galieni (medici add. F) ab om. SEBD 89 aselle (in ras.) D edd. Lips. Col. Franc. post 104 Aphorismum Galieni in presentem S cotidie Fallunt ars et praxis medicine / si tres euadunt septem s dant colla ruine (e Matheoli Lamentacionibus 4. 4648-4649 sumptum) R edd. Ultr. Par. 107 practica D 114 opem b opis a 120 cupis ipse tibi BH cupit ipse sibi ab 122 ipse AMDEFL ille SBHK 137 modico EF medico ab 140 iuuent EF 146 pariunt BH 149 solum DK solo ab 153 modo aS nunc b auricularis D. 155 quid si cauda tibi b quid tibi si cauda aF 159 es EFH est aSLB m. m. d et paruo congruit ergo / cauda brevis oneri nam foret ampla magis D 169 est om. EF 172 perpendis EFLc Increpacio Galieni ab om. B 187 enim H ei ab 191 lupus E aper EFL damila B Consolacio Galieni ab om. B 201 Lodouicus ELSB (Ludo- S) Lodowicus aFH (-wycus K) 202 non te EFL pontificesue bA -que aS 204 poteris EFL Narracio Galieni ut reuocet asinum a stulticia sua AMDSH De Bicornes et Brunetta uaccis K (alii alia) om. FB 205 ecce aSH esse ab 213 nocte EFL 214 procubuere b concubuere aH 216 mollia cuncta prius ab quod fuit ante lutum BH (e versu sequente sumptum) 222 patet EFL prius BH placet a 224 astringit aSH astrinxit EFLB

236 acrius Ed. (cf. 770, 864) anxius codd. Consilium Bicornis ab Brunetta amputauit caudam suam K om. ELB 245 per eam ab perio DY tantum teneor K 247-248 om. a 254 hic ego ab ne sic BH 257 totum (sensu generali) BH totam ab 258 magis EFBH minus ASL nimis MDK 259 cum sanguine tolli B 262 quaque (sc. ratione) b quoque a tunc BL cum EF nunc aSH 281 pacienter ab sapienter FSH Responsio Brunette AMDS Brunetta spreuit fatuum consilium K om. cett. 289 cuncta FK certa ab 292 bono ab pio EFS 310-311 om. MKF 311-312 ante 309-310 transp. BH 313 utrum- ME uterque D 314 subtraheret b subtraxit aL (forsitan errore scribae, sed N. raro subj. post dum habet) 317 sero b raro aL 320 dedigner EFD 335 soluisset c 340 releget bK relegit aL 343 mutant F 346 sibi b michi aL simul K 364 rabidos EF rapidos ab Commendacio caude aES om. b 369 nulloque decoru ab nullique decoris DK nullique de cori S 371 prestat EFLMD -stant AKSBH 373 uespes AMB uespas DK uaspas F uaspes ELG oestros bDK oestres AM (uentilat oestros et suas uerbere uespas K) 377 tutrix KYQ 378 adheret D 394 castigat a sepeliuit b 396 torruerit EF corr- S terr- aLBH 397 nociuior a nocentior b uicinior K 400 sinit BH 404 spernit bD spreuit aL 403-404 post 405-406 transp. ABH post 406 illa dies caudam certe michi grata salubrem / reddet et istius temporis ultor erit G (quos uersus habet post 402 H sed alterum linea nigra scriba erasit et et suos eta tem preuenit augur yems scripsit; postea certe . . . salubrem linea rubra erasit et cunctis . . . salubrem in mg. apposuit) 405 ille ASL 407-408 om. K post 411 qua sine qui fuerit igne cre mandus erit H et in mg. hic deficit uersus 413 timenda AM 415-416 om. F post 418 tr. D 427 michi . . . que ab sibi EF quid E qui F 430 cum cauda Skutsch tunc munda a preterita b 434 prepositisque K cum sociisque c 438 in nullo poterit B 439-440 cauda iuuabit . . . de qua om. B 447 prelonga bA per-aBH Qualiter Brunetta liberata est aS om. b 460 tunso bD tonso aSH Lamentacio Bicornis aS om. b 462 quam . . . fui ab quo . . . rui F ue michi quod cunctis ego nunc DK ue michi quod ego nunc cunctis AMS me miseram quod ego cunctis b 468 ludibrio a ludibrium b 473 fata SK facta ab 479-480 om. S 483 uiuat B 484 instruat ut EFc instruet et aLBH multos BH 491-492 spurii esse uidentur et e margine intrusi, aliter in Commendationem caudae transponendi an propior legendum?: desunt in Y 497 michi dum coniuncta a dum me comitata b Quid acciderit Bicorni ab Infortunium Bicornis K om. BH 511 quos ab quo EF quod S 521 thymiamata ab -mate EF 522 amoma MDK (et suprascr. in A) anona A amona B aroma (corr. pro annona) H amena EFL amonia S 525 culices Skutsch pulices codd. 527 pecudum turbator b pariter conturbat aS (quod Nigelli esse puto, qui pariter quasi tibicine haud raro utitur, sed pec. tur. auctoris emendationem esse) 528-531 om. EF 538 que quo tuta Ed. que que ab

que quoque S quodque EF que caudata DK 541 uespes etc. uarie ut in 373 543-544 in codd. post 545-546 scriptos, transposui 545 illa sc. muscarum turba comitatur et illa FBH comitantur et illi aEL comitantur et illa S 546 stimulant mordent aS stimulos acuunt b 547 se lugubris et ab nescia lugubris EFL 549 dum currere ASB disc- EFLK dec- MDH 550 celeri b crebro aE 560 consita MDK 564 extulit ab sustulit c (hiatum in hoc loco patitur poeta) Planctus Bicornis ab Lamentatio Bicornis K om. B 570 hac EFS 575 negauit aS negabit b 577 moriarque EF futuris V futurum ab Confessio Bicornis ab Predicacio Bic. DK Consolacio Bic. M om. B 580 discreta b mundana a 582 ille sc. impetus ab illa DKEF Epitaphium Bicornis aFS Titulus sepulchri Bicornis L om. cett. Reductio Galieni ADK 600 stultus es ito domum EFL (sed es deest in F stultus es in stultius cor rexit E) stultus es esto domi B stultus adesto domi H stulte red ito domum S tucius ire domum a 611 si tamen EF Consilium Galieni ironice ab (ironice om. MD) om. B 621 noli tardare pedester a nocuit differre paratis (e Lucani Bell. Ciu. l. 281 more uix Nigelliano sumptum) 626 ualeant bD ualeat a 634 referes aH referas b post 640 uel 642 uarii in codd. tituli uelut Species ad caudam prolongandam F Receptum medicinale pro Burnello H etc. 642 obiter b obicit AB 646 lucis AMSBH lincis EFRY linxis D liceris K luteris edd. Ultr. Par. lune L (in ras.) uolucris, piscis conj. Skutsch 650 adepta aBH adempta S adulta EFL 651 stamine b flamine a 654 silicis DX 658 accipias K 660 fac b tu a 663 sed et ista b pariterque a (cf. 527) 669 ero FK ego ab 670 fata b cuncta a 672 tota ab pariter EFL Benedictio Galieni data Burnello A quam dedit Burnello H super Burnellum D 683 per orbem EFS (o in u corr. F) 684 murmuris atque S Qualiter Burnellus profectus est ADSh (Quomodo H) ad Salernum add. M 700 quandoque S 702 Salerna MDKFS (in Fal corr. K) 707 lienum AKH 712 exacuatur a -etur bM 715 manifeste EF 716 cedat aFS -it b Qualiter Burnellus uenit Salernum aSH Oracio Burnelli F 722 ueniam nobis S 723 porteqe aS 739 fori LB 742 orbe quod in toto non fuit usque (ipse S) petens b nec tamen inuenit que cupiebat ibi a a mercatore add. Londiniensi MK om. D 744 foret b fuit a 750 potest EFL 751 peregrino b -ni a 755 Londonis EFL (-ie F) Londonis aSBH (miro codicum consensu nisi enunciationem contemporaneam monstrantium) 757 cui plus dimidio EF 759 in b ad aS 761 istuc b istac aS 763 hic teneo a hic emerem EFL emimus hic SBH 764 cura foret aSBH lucra darent EFL 773 tenus ore b et cuncta a 774 cura LBH 779 accepto LBH 787 Gula aFS Bula bA 788 tori bK toro a Inanis iactancia Burnelli aH Burnellus maledicit rustico EFL 791 nomine Burnellus dicor b nomen Burnellus michi stat a 808 decens b decent a 810 furcifer MDEFS fructifer AKLBH 811 perurant OPR (qui vv. 812-817 om.) Qualiter Burnellus rediit a Reditus Burnelli EFLSH 833 ingentes EF 835 num

bK non a 840 recta BH recto calle foret c sum ELS sim FBH num a nam K 846 solo bK soli a 847 Grimbaldus aL (uarie scriptum Grumb- Grumm- Grimw- etc.) post 848 decem folia usque ad celebrare parat 1386 perdidit B Infortunium Burnelli ab (in uia add. M) 857 tantum que EFSD tantum quod a que tanquam H 860-862 disp- MDK suos ab uie EF 860 om. H 863 et Ed. in codd. unum ab uno EFS 864 acrius EFSH anxius aL 871 hunc EF hinc ab 874 sola bD soli AMK 880 eo ab iter SH 881 nisi H ni AEL nec MF ut SDK 885 va va S Responsio Burnelli ab Quomodo Burnellus false tenuit conuersum K 894 uos ESHK nos AMDFL 902 meditando aL ratus ipse b 905 necnon satis ampla platea YZ 924 leditur et a lesa sed est b 929-930 om. EFLD longumque decus sit S longum sit decus AMKH pudor S decus AMKH (uersus sine dubio spurii) 933 tam grande redundat MDK (et rec. man. in mg. A) in dominum nos trum papam dedecusque redundat A 936 atque b absque a 937 dedecus at quanti sit EFLH quanti dedecus hoc sit K d.h. quanti sit D quanti dedecus est ego S qu. s. d. at AM 939 dedecus est ab est dedecus AM sed summus a dampnum graue b 940 crimi nis ultor erit a plus tamen istud eo (ego FH) b 941-944 om. a 943 qui sum F te consule L 950 grauiter a pariter b 952 leuiore DK 955 illius aL illata b 957 soluendo bD -dus a non pereat solus c 959 soluent EFSH -ant aL 962 mercarum AMDF 963-964 om. H 966 qualiter ultus ero S 970 sequantur aH -entur SLD -untur EF 971 nisi cruda aSH (nec MD) nec cocta EFL 972 culpe bD culpa a 974 genus aSH decus EFL 984 dampnetur bDK -atur AM dematur S Simulacio fratris Fromundi bA (fra tris om. EFL) Fictio fr. Fr. MD Dolus conuersi pro uerbis Brunelli K 992 poterat b poterit aL potuit D 1022 sciat aSH sciet EFLD 1025 accipiam aL 1031 apes medicas EL (quales?) an opes medicas hic legendum? genialia EFL generalia aSH 1040 sederit ELH cederit, crederit, cesserit cett. 1042 quaque placebit S 1043 dicet ab dicat E dictat F 1052 ora EFMK ore ADSL 1055 ducens c 1061 correpto b correptis aS 1062 dis ponit socium fallere fraude suum a 1068 rui EF 1070-1071 om. a post 1072 fallite fallentes ex magna parte profanum / sunt genus in laqueos quos posuere cadat (sic) / iustus uterque fuit neque non (sic) lex equior ulla / quam necis artifices arte perire sua F Canticum Burnelli ab (Fromundo submerso add. K) 1075-1078 transp. D 1076-1077 om. EFHD 1078 cistra AMH 1084 arte sua . . . ante sibi EF 1085 qui uoluit sapiens stolidum morti dare fraude S Epitaphium fratris Fromundi AM Epitaphium Conuersi K 1110 par sit ut EFL prosit ut aH possit et S Meditacio Burnelli in reditu FL Planctus Burnelli D 1116 dixerit EFL quod D 1124 meum EFH dat natura meum desi puisse michi S 1127 quid . . . quis bD quis . . . quid a apparet quis ego c 1128 sim quid DK 1130 omne EFL 1131 ob hoc EFL 1136 rediment EFL 1142 putat H putet ab 1150 non demutata a

nondum mutata EFL de non mutata H non emendata S 1153 uidebit bD uidebunt aS 1157 si quod SH si que a sed quod EFL 1158 seu EFL ceu H 1164 om. H 1168 nutibus et signis lingua tacentis erit b nutibus et linea deletum et in mg. monstrabit H 1169-1172 om. a 1175 est melius quod non a dedecus est si sic EFL ast ego nunquam sic H 1178 septennis H fallor b fallar aS 1185-1186 om. aEBS (an post 1187-1188 transponendi?) 1192 consuetudo frequens alleuiabit onus EFL 1194 coget senior codd. transposui coget cum sit honor incoluisse scholas D 1198 audentes EFLS 1199 uacabo DK 1201 Boloniam bA Bononiam MDKc Col oniam OR 1223 aue EFSH ait aL 1226 tuta rogo S 1228 quarta precor S 1229 Arnaldus D etiam K sed hic in -oldus mutatum et postea ita scriptum 1238 dederit DH 1239 casumque FS Nar ratio Arnoldi ab (de fil. pr. et p. gall. add. a) Gundulphus de cipitur per gallum K 1252 dinumarare D 1262 si ualet S 1273 magis EFL 1275-1276 om. aE 1276 nimis H minus FL 1285 inde . . . stimulabat b hincque . . . stimulauit a 1287 labente c 1289 iam dedicere dolorem b multum doluere dolore a 1290 tenere 1295 sura b sanum a 1299 quietis bDK quieti AMS 1302-1303 om. aFS 1304 om. D leuat aSL iuuat EF 1307 auet EF aue AM aues L amat H sed nec plus D cupit aut plus S 1308 citam ab (sitam E) cupit S et in mg. AMK 1311 iam lustrum fecerat ille c 1312 functus D et in A suprascr. 1322 Carabella EFL (uarie scriptum) Tarabella AM Tarebella DK etc. 1324-1325 om. S 1325 genialia EFL generalia aH 1327 onerantque H onerant ab 1335 cunctis prefigitur hora c 1347 immittunt MDK immutant bA inuitant S 1359 nox b uox aL 1365 cui EFD 1376 promit b profert a 1386 finis lacunae codicis Arundeliani 1395 absorptus S (fort. recte sed cf. 2135) 1409-1410 om. a ordo uersuum in S 1406, 1409, 1408 tum hic erit innocuus qui non sibi tempora dic tat / que non dormitat sit uigil ille tuus 1409 surgendi S -tes LBH -te E -da F 1411 restat K plurima b maxima a 1414 preterisse c 1419-1420 om. F 1420 qui iacet ille bibat / qui bibit ille luat b (bibat et iacet transp. E luat om. L qui iacit H) qui iacet hic iaceat qui bibit ille bibat a (tacet M) 1425 pugnīs EF 1432 quo b qui a 1434 largus aS lapsus b (paraphrasis in y aberrare cepit in diuersa habet, sed rg et ps scriptura similes causam erroris praeuisse possunt) 1434-1435 om. M 1442 restabat nulla quam a unica restabat que (quam BH) b 1443 multumque pudore a multoque b dolore EFL 1456 habet bDK habent AM in lacrimas certant gaudia uersa uident (quod scriba in abeunt . . . luctus habet correxit) H 1461 talibus auditis EFL iniquam AMELB iniquum FSHDK 1462 dignam ab dignum DK ferre Ed. reddo b dare a 1463 quando EFL quondam aSBH 1468 delusus EF 1477 sum FDH triumphī MD 1480 sonent H post 1484 qui silet esse [sic] sanus qui dicit multa puella / probra satisfieri postulat ipse sibi F 1486 uicem a uices b 1487 uulnus aSBH nullus F maior EL 1488 exteriorque AS 1493 fassus EFL

Qualiter Burnellus uenit Parisius et quid fecerit ibi ab (et qualiter profecit in scholis MDK) Burnellus uenit Parisius H 1504 subeunt b ueniunt a 1510 roba D 1514 expediat Ed. expediant codd. 1515 subtili D 1519 auaris AM 1521 washey l et drinkhey l EFL (uarie scripta) wessail et dringail A wessay l cum drinkheil BH wessay l et drinkhay l MDK weseil et drincwel S 1522 eis ADKSBH eos MEFL 1523-1524 om. D 1525 hec tria FBH 1529 notata EFL 1533 quiddam aEFL quoddam S ceu H seu ELSB sed F nam a 1534 cur ab quo EF 1546 hyha EFL yha SH iha B ya a (etiam in 1553-1554, 1563) 1548 illi ab illo AB illic S 1549 diuque laborans b diuque laborat MK diu laborando D diu laborabat A 1555 retortum B retrorsum H 1567 periit labor omnis b periitque labor sed a 1569 caude superinstituende a cauda super inficienda b 1570 sensit SBH crimina MDBH De Dolore Burnelli K om. b 1576 ruina BH 1578-1579 om. S 1582-1583 Parisiique . . . Angligenas om. H 1585 Anglicus D 1586 quod EF 1591 essent EFSM essem ADKLBH 1597 longe EFLD longo AMKS longa BH famina bMK parce ES parte ab 1598 alia D pariter H fata EFL 1599 mea b sed a quasi semper fata D 1608 puto b meo a 1609 ceu (supr. seu) a seu aSBH sub EFL peluis ADK pellis BH puluis M peltis EFS plantis F 1619 cui EFLH cur aB 1622 rabidis S Quomodo Burnellus sompniauit K om. B 1637 calleat b pareat aE 1645-1648 om. D 1647 uidistis BH Sentencia Burnelli a (de faciendo episcopo add. MS) Nota ociosas cogitaciones Burnelli K 1660 aliquo EFL 1664 eueniet EFL 1667 sint EFL 1674 mictra S post 1678 abbates quidam poterunt mitras bene ferre / a quibus est longe pontifici calis apex DK 1700 ut non sit aE et non sic LBH et sic non c 1698-1703 om. F post 1708 abbatis capiti tantum ualet infula quantum / testiculos mulo pendere quisque uelit R 1710 ut Ed. ne codd. 1711 re sine nomen habent bK n.h. sine re aH menstrua EF monstrua ab 1714 cornua uana a menstrua membra EF monstr- LSBH (fortasse e 1711) 1715 uoti ELB uoci aFSH 1720 debet AKS 1723 si non ingrediar simplex sana quoque mente K 1727 honore b honori aL 1730 ouile Dei S 1737 nil non b uel non a 1740 minus EFLH nimis ADKSB 1749 omnia factus b et uia duxque aS 1750 quidnam uirtutis debet abesse b nil ergo uicii debet adesse a (hic iterum aliquid elegantius et 1747 magis idoneum praetutlit N.) 1753 sint EFL (ut saepe de grammatica solliciti) 1755 carnis amor uel sanguinis optat SBH 1758 spes AMDBH pes EFLK 1759 introeant b et ueniant a 1773 labore EF -at ab 1777 uanas b nimias a (e nimis 1778) insipienter b non sapienter a Nota uanam spem et imaginacionem Burnelli K om. b 1782 inflexo S Reuersus Burnellus in se dixit F 1791 occulte EFL 1795 et nostra fuerunt S 1796 alteriusque uicis est SBH 1797-1798 pontificis tanti nunc tempora . . . prius a (quod ut sensum 1795-1796 iterans fort. ipse auctor mutauit) 1799 mater EFL (prosodiae minus periti quam gram

maticae) 1804 ne EF De preposito EFL 1814 ciues b fures aH 1829 simul b quos aS 1831 inficiando b insistendo a 1843 spretis b sumptis a scitis D 1844 uincit KLB 1854 uias aSB uices EL uicos F ripas H 1857 postquam didici mala pondera tollere K 1863 pondera magna tuli sed me posuere deorsum c inde aB ille AFLH 1877 tuus immo tuissimus b seruus certissimus a 1884 hanc KH at M et S 1885-1886 om. aF 1893 miser et b necnon a 1897 igitur b ergo a 1900 patrem EFB 1902 esse F 1909-1910 post 1911-1912 tr. D Discensus Burnelli a ciuitate Parisiensi A Recessus Burnelli de Parisius MDKS meditatio Burnelli EFL 1926 talis erat EFLS qualis erat BH qualis ego a (rogat non qualis fuerit sed num talis fuerit qualem nunc sub oculis habeat) 1933 certa bDK certe AM 1934 confirmans BH confin gens aEFLS 1939 petendi b petenti a 1940 uelis 1944 et EFLS ut aBH 1947 salutatur MD 1951 uienna b uicina aS propinqua D 1955 sic cedat D 1968 nomen subripuit urbis ubi studui a (quod ut minus eleganter dictum mutauit fortasse ipse auctor) 1979 periit bD peperit MK 1981 quem EFL quod aSBH 1984 dari ELSB 1988 que a quod bD 1990 sic BH me ab 1994-1995 om. MDKF 1944 tamen . . . nichil b talem . . . michi A 2001-2004 om. MDK 2011-2012 om. S 2013 labor est b et id (sed K) est D 2014 estque docere c 2021 presciuisse F 2024 sanus S 2034 spes Skutsch ens aSBH mens EFL 2038 suo b bono a 2047 quorum b nisi quod a cur sic H Sententia Burnelli de diuersis religionibus (ordinibus b existentibus add. A) a et primo de Templariis add. ELDK Interpretatio Burnelli de diuersis ordinibus B post 2054 Ordo Templariorum B 2055 deorsum F 2060 nam que EFL nostra aSBH 2063 quia candida pallia defert c 2065 nostra FH nostram ab Soldanus ELK De Hospitalariis bD -tul-aL Ordo Sancti Iohannis Ierusalem B 2070 clibanum EF scindere ligna domus c 2071 trinodi b trimordi aL timore D 2084 obstrusum AKEFLB obtr- MDSH 2085 facerent cF laternam D 2087 uorarem b uorare a negarent S 2088 quarta KBH quinta S nam licet illud ibi b sepe licebit eis a 2097 diuque labore b diuque laborarem AL multum longumque laborem D simplicibus claustris durum magnumque laborem K 2102 ualet a ualent BH potest EFLS 2103 uendunt b comodant a non uendunt uel emunt cum Symone predia gentis / atque prioratus distribuuntur ibi MK predia multa satis ibi gratis distribuuntur / atque prioratus non comodant uel emunt D 2104 eis BH 2105-2106, 2109-2110 om. a 2106 multi EFL -tis SBH Ordo Cisterciensis B 2112 et VT in S hi ab 2117 lac lanamque Ed. lac et lana codd. ministrant b -at aH 2131 capiunt F querunt H 2135 relinquunt B 2136 ne clament EFLH nec clamant aSB her her aS (uarie scriptum) hyer her E heer her F hyer hyer LH hier hier B 2145-2146 om. a 2145 de facili c 2148 non albus monachus postea dictus ero MK nunquam post illud monachus albus ero SD 2151-2152 om. a 2151 pila pusillorum BH 2160 debet nam sine re c 2175 fures

Skutsch ficti . . . furti a falsi . . . ficti b 2184 timere aFS De Ordine Grandimontis AEL Grandimontensi S Grandi montanorum FD De Grandimontanis Fratribus K Ordo Grandimontensis B 2190 faceret S 2193 nudas assumpto uellere aL (abs- K) udas ficto cum subere b (fuco F uda B uda ficta H idas ficto E) 2195 laxent . . . insidiantur bDK -ant -antur F -ant -entur AM 2197 quantum BH 2200 sibi BH breui ab 2206 hominum SBH sit b nec a 2212 trahitur EFL 2214 fit quoque claustralis EFLH 2216 us que bM usa aB 2218 uota a uita BH iura EFLS 2235 erunt aS erit ELBH ero F 2237 minister EL 2244 pisces b carnes a 2253 lite bk scire a iura S 2259 semper a possunt quoque D 2260 absque ab atque MSH 2263 quem ab quam AH 2264 prohibente S 2272 placent bM 2275 clauduntur EFDK -entur cett. themate AS 2276 alternus VT alterius ab 2277 albedo b albo aS De Albis Canonicis EFL De Premonstratensibus S 2289 splendore EL 2293 tegebat bMK protexit aS 2300 hos EL his ab 2301 salubribus bK salubrius aH 2302 alleuiabit MDSK 2304 ut raro MDK 2310-2311 om. a 2315 seculares quique EFLH qui secularesque AMSB sunt et canonici quorum nomen metra spernunt / ne longent breuia longaue corripiant / sed errante metro (erranteque metro K) sunt canonici seculares / nomen ab officio qui meruere suo DK seculares qui uocitati X (uocitari etiam 2669) 2317 lex est licitumque b lex noua licetque M noua lex licitum que D 2332 cadit EFH 2343 numine EFLS uiuere aBH 2347-2348 om. S 2352 cum labente labant cumque ruente ruunt BH (cumque cadente EFL) cumque labente labent cumque ruente ruunt a 2353 gloria b stat quasi aL 2360 in giro Ed. in girum b (in gira L) ignitum aH stadium bMK studium AD 2366 uelut EFL 2369 etiam cito BH poterit cito D 2370 que mentem semper ad uitiosa trahit L De Ordine Sanctimonialium F De Nonnis L 2377-2383 post 2386 in EFL 2379-2380 pectore . . . corpore EFL 2380 dogmate c corde om. R pares SLH par hiis R 2388 ferunt EFL 2393 illis usque modo consuetudo fuit EFL 2395 harum sunt quedam steriles quedam parientes b sunt qu. st. et qu. parturientes MDK 2397 donatur b dotatur aH Simplingham ab Sempringham MD (alii alia) 2406 atque MD 2407-2408 om. aL 2408-2409 om. S 2408 quadrifido positu EF quas simul in unum BH illa EFB una H 2412 plasmatis EL atque D melo b mero, metro a post 2412 sequuntur in MNDKGI uersus 238 in terpolati de Ordinibus recentioribus Nouus Ordo Burnelli factus de aliis ordinibus A Condiciones ipsius Burnelli MD Quomodo B. fecit unum ordinem de omnibus K Ordo Burnelli EL Nouus Ordo quem B. instituit B Incipit Ordo Burnelli H 2417-2418 post 2419-2420 in b 2419-2420 om. a 2425 quarta BH 2427 albis EFLS aliis aBH 2429 multa aSB ubique EFLH 2430 quod que tenere aSBH 2433-2434 post 2435-2436 in EF 2445 uelatarum EFD sacratarum aSBH (quod e sacro uidetur uenisse) 2450 quod tamen hic hic taceo K 2455 nulloque . . . sorori EF

nullaque . . . sororum aSBHL post 2456 sequuntur in MNDKGH
 14 uersus interpolati 2457 si non nunc aS si modo non EFL si
 non hic BH quamuis non K Interrogacio Galieni EL om. B 2468
 heu b en a 2475 dolores Skutsch doloris codd. 2476 michi ferre
 solent SBH cruciare solent EFL me nocere solent A nocuere
 michi MDK 2477 flagellat bD flagella aS 2478 at Skutsch dat a
 sed b depascit b sed pascit a 2481 neuerunt B (alii alia, uener
 unt, norunt, fuerunt) uerum mea a inter 2482 et 3259 lacunam,
habent EFL 2488 pessima preque a pre nimiaque b (pessima
fortasse cum tot extra esse non intelligentes) 2496 quod aS que
 BH 2502 inopi S inopis ADBH miseris K 2507 omnia facta b or
 dine facta a ordine sancto R 2509 pudoris a 2514 larga c 2516
 nec uidet unde locum (sc. habeat) 2519 faciens B siciens ab (hic
finem habet S) 2523 illud BHK illis a 2524 linit MK luit BH 2533
 auari Sedgwick auarum KBH amarum AMD 2538 emendat BH
 emendat a 2544 et uirus modicum dolia magna grauat (necat KB)
 MDKB (ut prosodiam seruent cf. 2609) 2545 maculando respergit
 a maculosa resp. BH maculat maculosa c 2546 ex morbo BH
 2551 hec uiciorum MD 2555-2558 om. a 2555 sed liceat sum
 mam titulo tractare sub uno V 2556 nam sicut populi uox V
 2557 in ea BH pariter V 2567 sumpta carne a suspicione BH
 2568 nec fera consulitur consule queso feras bc (uersus uix Ni
gellianus) 2583-2584 in codd. post 2644 unde huc transposui
 2593 serenant b reseruant AM reformant DK 2(2600) euacuantque
 Ed. euacuant codd. post hunc uersum finem habent codd. quos c
nominaui: lectiones codicis Guelpherbytani ceteris addidi 2603
 tegenda YH tacenda aB pudenda K 2605-2610 om. Y 2609 uirus
 insanabile DB uirtus ins. M sunt ins. K uirus sanabile AH 2611
 uocem Skutsch secum codd. 2612 uerborumque uices K (uices
supr. ciues scr.) ciues AY ueri quod ciues BH gerunt KBH
 gemunt aY 2613-2614 om. Y 2618 dubitat BH eum MK ea ADYBH
 2619-2620 om. a 2627-2634 om. Y 2636 longe BH 2640 intus BH
 De Pastoribus spiritualibus H De Episcopis modernis Y et alii
alia 2667 se MDK si AYBH 2670 de quibus AYBH ipsemet MDK
 2684 decipiatque BH 2685 quia . . . primo a quia . . . primis Y
 qui . . . primis BH 2687 secundi aB -dis H -do Y 2696 quod leue
 proiciunt Ed. quod uile despiciunt aYH (uileque K) proiciuntque
 macrum XB 2697 misereque DKBH miscere AMY 2700 gregem
 BH greges aY 2709 specula B speculo aY 2718 tot uini ciati
 YBH (forte emendatio auctoris) uestibus ornati a 2725 quidam
 sua brachia tendit a tendit sua brachia mundus YBH 2735-2736
om. Y 2735 uacuas BH laceras a 2737 regia . . . alta YH regia
 . . . aula B splendida . . . aula a 2743-2744 om. YH 2744 et
 amat B amat et a sapuisse Sedgwick facit ipse codd. 2748 ecce
 MKYB esse ADK 2749 primum ab proprium H 2754 Wileminus
 b Wilekinus (nomen uarie scriptum) a 2756 suas YBH dedit a
 2792 hinc aY quod BH (hiatum 562, 722 habet N.) trahat BH trahit
 aY 2794 ancipitrem AKB acc- MDYH 2798 decedat KYH disc-

AMB 2801 quamuis B 2802 hora breuis Sedgwick moxque quod est codd. 2803 acrius H artius Y arctius aB irrequietus H ire quietus aB 2812 grauet YBH -at a graue K 2816 sacer MD 2824 Augustino AMD 2838 crura . . . carent MDK 2891 in mg. D Apocalipsis Burnelli 2893 iuuabat YBH uidebar a 2901 ramos super BH sub ramis DK 2911 et fixo aY fixo pede BH 2914 simplice MDK 2915 sine uentre ABH sine vento D michi forte K 2915-2916 om. Y 2918 delituisse solent BH conticuere simul aY 2919-2920 om. Y Planctus Corui quod non tacuit M 2925 stemmate maior BH sanctior unus aY (quod fortasse e 193 ubi etiam cum melior inuenitur huc irrepsit) 2928 magno aBH primo H scire YBH fore a 2956 camum Skutsch canem ab ciphum K cadum conj. Sedgwick 2974-2975 om. Y 2985 modo Sedgwick mox codd. 3011 admisi YBH amisi a 3019 rana D 3044 auolat R aduolat ab 3046 immo KBH atque AMDY 3055 phitacus AY 3058 malo Ed. loco codd. (e locute supra sumptum) 3061 dixerunt queque Y 3080 sapit RX capit ab 3102 proderis H ut fugeres K 3120 cubent DB 3122 apta dieta suis . . . 3124 pulli om. AY 3127-3130 om. a post 3132 et per quam pingues pulli procreantur et oua / de lumbis nostris cepit origo prior a 3161 cuiuis R cuius AB ciuis H 3161-3164 om. Y 3167-3172 om. D 3195 hic AMDH hec KYB 3197 qui male sancta frequen tant Ed. malefata uel mala sepe malefata conj. Skutsch mala fata frequentant YBH mala facta sequantur a 3218 ruant MK ruat ADY ruent BH Voluntas et Racio Burnelli AM 3233 talia dicenti nyso de nare sinistra Y 3234-3259 om. Y 3235 uerna K uernaque ab 3242 factus H 3246 si tempus . . . breue K 3250 rear BH 3254 religiosus a 3255 aut operor mala queque MDK 3259 hic finis lacunae in EFL sed in F 3259-3278 sequuntur 3279-3426 3259 statuo me tradere aBH statui me reddere EFL Suasio Burnelli Galieno D 3273 uiuuntque rosa saluuncis a (ueniuntque rose D) 3276 diem EFL 3279 meditantur aBH -temur L -tatur F 3287 reperere AMDFBH uidere ELK 3291 quia BH 3296 de Saturno K 3308 redderet R redderit ab 3314 om. aBH post 3320 in M una linea sine scriptura relictata sequuntur 3602-3896, tum 3321-3601, tum 3897-3900 3325 quam supra uires proprias aliena uenari EFL 3330 fieri EFL 3339 parasset aLB pararet EFH 3345 comesque AMDB 3348 tempore EFL (sed continuo aduer bium est ut in 2234) 3352 sociam EFL 3360 bene conspicio b uideo bene nunc a 3362 refellantur EFL 3366 pressa K iuncta F 3369 uisus EL 3378 quam sic ditauit gracia totque dedit EFL 3385 compositure b composuere a 3390 curua EFL crure aBH (quasi uestibus poplite reiectis, deflexo crure intelligendum) 3392 neutra uacat domine seruit utraque sue EFL (prosodia ut saepe deficientes, nam utraque nominatiuum hic esse non potest) 3397 subsistit EFL 3399 timetis b uidetis a 3414 quicquid EFL 3440 consuetudo frequens EFL 3445 om. EFL 3447 militem E (qui codex in possessione Comitiss Herefordiae fuisse notus est)

3448 hic finis EFL sed in F sequuntur Burnelli dicta multo mo-
 deramine ficta / spernere qui querit semper asellus erit 3455-
 3456 om. D 3459 talia dicenti nyso Y 3465 diro H 3467 omine
 Sedgwick omni codd. 3481 esse YBH omni a (e 1663 sumptum)
 3497 ulterius YK alterius ab 3501 sportellas eneas a 3514 mem-
 oranda Y -do ab 3515 diceret BH 3518-3519 om. a in mg. Y
 3531 malorum B 3542 hic finis A 8 foliis perditis 3552 uocent
 BHD notent MKY uolunt D uolent H Quomodo Bernardus est
 mirabiliter ditatus K Bernardus inuenit tres pueros [sic] in
 puteo H 3562 quam nouit ueram tota Cremona [sic] satis D que
 satis in tota notior urbe fuit K (prosodiae causa ut uidetur) 3563-
 3564 post 3565-3566 in MDK 3565-3566 om. Y 3602 ille refert
 AMBH unde dolet DK unde foret X (fortasse unde; refert ille:
legendum) 3603 ego YBH ait a 3613 dimittit at XB dimisit at M
 dimittit ad Y dimisit ad KDH (sed hic at necessarium est nisi
in 3614 quam sumens K uel quam capiens H legitur) 3635 terra
 BH terre aY 3640 quas YBH que a multiplicante a (cum iura
 mentis K) multiplicare YBH 3643-3644 om. a 3655 metum DB
 secum aY 3661 et si non pietas plus tunc quam prima cupido D
 3674 iamque Ed. inque codd. 3676 ne B cito MDKH cita YB 3682
 firmata fide YBH seruando fidem MDK De remuneratione leo
 nis symie et serpentis D De remuneratione Bernardi per feras
 K 3701 adisset BH adiret MDKY 3706 quacunque D sic quaque
 ab iuuans Ed. iuuat codd. 3708 abstulit b attulit a 3709 remeante
 YXH remanente a retinente B 3710 tulit YB ferens aH 3714
 manus H (e 1172 sumptum?) 3731 sapiens H 3739 dotatus a
 donatus YB 3750 suppositum baculis MDK 3759 erat B adest
 aYH (plusqu. pf. etiam in 3760) 3768 tenentur CXY tenetur
 MDKB quam tenerentur H (ei sc. regi) Narracio Bernardi coram
 rege de dono et feris K 3783 positu BH talis aY (talis e tali
sumptum esse et positu ante puteus excidissee potest, aliter loci
sensu caret) 3784 depositus CB disp. aYH 3785-3786 in H in
cett. codd. desunt illapsus Ed. illapsum XH (sed eum masc. eget)
 3802 baptismum KH -ma aYB sed syllaba correpta etiam ante
 Chr- Nigello impossibile est 3812 persuadendo michi quam bona
 cuncta sua Y 3810-3811 XH (iuncta tamen H) in cett. codd. de
sunt et excidissee possunt per homoeoteleuton sed grammaticae
uix satisfaciunt; forsitan duae uersiones hic aliquo modo sint
confusae 3825 uinclu penultima cuncta MDK (repente fortasse
in archetypo e loco motum est) 3833 que tuto DYBH quo tuta K
 que tuta M Iudicium regis de Dryano et Bernardo K 3848 infici
 atur opus XB rege iubente suo aYH fortasse auctoris ipsius
emendationem in B habemus 3849 sed XYB et aH 3858-3861 om.
 D 3863-3872 om. M 3864 hic finem habent BH 3870 gratuito
 corde quam tenuisse Y 3071 maxime pro M saltem pro DK
 proque bonis Y 3873 moretur DKY moratur M 3877 dum MDY
 cum K 3879 uiuentibus K uenientibus MDY 3882 scrutetur lec-
 tor caute quid ipsa uelint (quid magis K) MDK discretus lector

denotet illa sibi Y 3883 designare sibi MD et cum signavit Y que bene cum uideat p. t. f. notare K 3887 semper ad ardua tendunt MDK talia certe laborant C certa uana laborant Y 3891 inepte MDY inepta K 3900 atque pio nato sit cui laus et honor DY (amen add. MD)

Explanatory Notes

Speculum Stultorum: on the history of the mirror metaphor from antiquity to the Middle Ages and its use in book titles from the twelfth century onward, see E. Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter (Bern, 1948), p. 339 n. 1; T. Welter, ed., Speculum Laicorum (Paris, 1914), p. iii; and Sister Ritamary Bradley, "Backgrounds of the Title Speculum in Medieval Literature," Speculum, XXIX (1954), 100-115. Nigel, who apparently was the first to employ the metaphor in the title of a satire, remarks in his letter to William (Wright, I, pp. 3-4):

Titulus igitur hujus libelli talis est, Speculum Stultorum. Qui ideo sic appellatus est, ut insipientes aliena inspecta stultitia tamquam speculum eam habeant, quo inspecto propriam corrigant discantque in seipsis id esse reprehendendum quod in aliis reprehensibile viderint quasi per speculum. Veruntamen, sicut speculum intuentibus faciem repraesentat et formam, sed nequaquam in animo praeteritae repraesentationis conservat memoriam, sic et stultis familiare solet esse raro, vel difficile, a propria revocari stultitia, quantumcunque fuerunt eruditi ex aliena. Dicitur ergo Speculum Stultorum, vel quia stulti inspecta sapientia statim obliviscuntur eam, vel quia sapientes ex eo etiam proficiunt, quod stultorum stoliditatem dum aspiciunt, seipsos componunt, et ex trabe conspecta in oculo alieno festucam ejiciunt de proprio.

1. Veteris: about fifty years of age. See A. Hofmeister, "Puer, Iuvenis, Senex," in Papsttum und Kaisertum (Munich, 1926), pp. 287-316.

Willelme: William was Nigel's friend and patron, William de Longchamps.

For an account of the chancellor's career and family history, see L. Boivin-Champeaux, Notice sur Guillaume de Long-Champs (Evreux, 1885); W. Stubbs, Historical Introduction To The Rolls Series, ed. A. Hassall (London, 1902), pp. 208-210, 214-223, 241-251; and A. E. Conway, "The Family of William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Chancellor and Justiciar of England 1190-1191," Archeologia Cantiana, XXXVI (1923), 15-41. Nigel was

not the only contemporary author to receive high ecclesiastical patronage. Gerald of Wales and Joseph of Exeter both received the patronage of Baldwin of Canterbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth of Robert of Chesney and Alexander of Lincoln, Henry of Huntington of Robert Bloet, Henry of Avranches of Henry de Longchamps and Peter de Rupibus, Walter of Châtillon of William of Sens, Osbert of Clare of Gilbert Foliot, William of Malmesbury of Henry of Blois, Ernulf and Fulcard of Walekin of Winchester, and so forth.

2. Arata: for exarata.

3. Novitatis opus: "the work of an inexperienced scribbler."

4. A conflation of Hor. Od. 1. 3. 8: *et serves animae dimidium meae* and 2. 17. 5: *a, te meae si partem animae rapit*.

5. A traditional defense of the fable. Cf. Avian. Ep. ad Theod.; Phaedr. Prol. 4; Romulus, Prol. ad Fab., Hervieux, II, p. 195; Walter the Englishman, Prol. ad Fab., ibid., p. 316; Baldo, Prol. ad Fab., ibid., V, pp. 339-340; and J. W. H. Atkins, English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 69-71.

9-10. Quae contraria verbis . . . sunt retinenda verbis: on the opposition of the literal and the allegorical senses, see E. de Bruyne, Études d'Esthétique Médiévale, II (Bruges, 1946), 302-313; C. Spicq, Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge (Paris, 1944), p. 19.

14. In vili res pretiosa latet: a reminiscence of the tale of the cock and the jasper recounted by many fabulists, including Walter the Englishman, whom Nigel may be echoing here. Cf. Hervieux, II, p. 316, l. 3: *Res vili pretiosa loco*.

17. An adaptation of Ecb. Capt. 1-2: *Cum me respicio trans actaque tempora volvo / De multo miror*.

17-48. Nigel, as many of his contemporaries, among them Joseph of Exeter, De Bello Trioano l. 15-23, ed. S. Dresenius (London, 1825), John of Hanville, Architrenius, Wright, I, pp. 242-243, Peter of Blois, Ep. 101, PL, CCVII, cols. 311-314, and possibly CB 30 (which according to the editors [II, pt. 1, pp. 47-49] may be the work of Peter) and the anonymous author of the Florebat olim studium (CB 6), was a consistent defender of the ancients against the moderns. For a discussion of the controversy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Curtius, Europäische Literatur, p. 109; Atkins, English Literary Criticism, pp. 69-71; L. J. Paetow, ed., La Bataille des VII Ars of Henry d'Andely (Berkeley, 1914), pp. 13-30.

20. In caudam vertitur omne caput: a popular saying of the day meaning "Everything is topsy-turvy." Cf. John of Salisbury, Ep. 241, PL, CXCIX, col. 274; Peter of Blois, Ep. 101, PL, CCVII, col. 314; and A. Mancini, "Poesie politico-religiose medievali," Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 2d Ser., VIII (1939), 266.

23. Facundus Ulixes: Ov. Ars Am. 2. 123.

31-32. Furantur Nestoris annos . . . ipse suus: "Unborn babes lay claim to Nestor's wisdom." Cf. Fec. Rat. 1. 1600: Ante mari tus erit modo quam prorumpet ab ovo; and CB 6. 5-20:

iam pueris astutia	at nunc decennes pueri
contingit ante tempora	decusso iugo liberi
qui per malivolentiam	se nunc magistros iactitant,
excludunt sapientiam	ceci cecos precipitant,
sed retro actis seculis	implumes aves volitant,
vix licuit discipulis	brunelli chordas incitant,
tandem nonagenarium	boves in aula salitant,
quiescere post studium.	stive precones militant.

37-38. Cicero and Cato were frequently contrasted in the Middle Ages. Cf. Matthew of Vendome, Commendatio Militis, PL, CCV, col. 983; Tullius eloquio . . . rigore Cato; Henry of Settimello, Elegia 4. 203-207, ed. G. Cremaschi (Bergamo, 1949): Scripta legens veterum, rigidum sectare Catonem, / morigerum Senecam, pacificumque Probum; / Dulichium, Ad rastrum, Ciceronem, Nestora, Titum: / pectore, consilio, more, loquendo, manu; Ysengr. 5. 511: Fit vicibus certis Tullius atque Cato; Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria Nova 1775-1776, ed. E. Faral, Les Arts Poétiques: Es Cato mente / Tullius ore, Paris facie, Pirrusque vigore.

37-42. Cf. John of Salisbury, Entheticus 45-54, PL, CXCIX, col. 966:

A nobis sapimus, docuit se nostra iuventus,
 Non recipit veterum dogmata nostra cohors.
 Non onus accipimus, ut eorum verba sequamur,
 Quos habet auctores Graeciae, Roma colit.
 Incola sum modici pontis, novus auctor in arte,
 Dum prius inventum gloriator esse meum;
 Quod docuere senes, nec novit amica iuventus,
 Pectoris inventum juro fuisse mei.
 Sedula me juvenum circumdat turba, putatque
 Grandia jactantem, non nisi vera loqui.

39. Lunari subjecta globo: Claud. Rapt. Pros. 2. 298.

41. Quantumque: for quantumcumque.

45. A reminiscence of Matt. 23:27: Vae vobis, scribae et pharisaei hypocritae, quia similes estis sepulcris dealbatis, quae a foris parent hominibus speciosa, intus vira plena sunt ossibus mortuorum, et omni spurcitia, and Acts 23:3: Tunc Paulus dixit ad eum: Percutiet te Deus, paries dealbate. Et tu sedens iudicias me secundum legem. All Biblical quotations are drawn from the Clementine edition (Paris, 1922) of the Latin Vulgate.

46. Sordibus atque luto: cf. Prud. Praef. 12: foedavit iuvenem nequitiae sordibus et luto.

47-48. Cf. CB 42. 71-72: Et accedit dignitas animali bruto / tanquam gemma stercorei pictura luto; and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria Nova 742-744: faciem depingere verbi / Est pictura luti.

49-50. Cf. Boeth. 3. 9: Nam si quid est quod in ulla re inbecillioris valentiae sit, in hac praesidio necesse est egeat alieno.

56. Cf. Babio 303-304, ed. E. Faral (Paris, 1948): Est rea res venia: multis dedit ausa malorum, / Ausa dedit Niobae tardior ira deae; Morawski 816; Grant debonneretez a main home greve and 1087; Li legiers pardonners fait rauchoir en pechie.

57-66. A summary of Avian. 5 (De Asino Pelle Leonis Induta) with a partial quotation of the last line: at michi, qui quondam, semper asellus eris.

76. Sarcina pondus habet: Maxim. 5. 70

79-80. Cf. Avian. 8. 1-2: Contentum propriis sapientem vivere rebus / nec cupere alterius fabula nostra monet.

80. Cum dedecore: a reminiscence of Phaedr. 1. 21. 11: te [asinum] naturae dedecus.

81. Auribus immensis: asses' ears are traditionally a symbol of stupidity. Cf. C. Rozan, Les Animaux dans les Proverbes (Paris, 1902), p. 28; Werner E. 130: Ex verbis fatuos, asinos cognosce per aures; / Intus quid lateat, exteriora probant; Singer, II, p. 46: Bi rede erkenne ich toren, Den esel bî den oren.

82. Instituit: for statuit.

86. Apocopata: an advance allusion to the ass's loss of his tail.

89. Galienus: the normal medieval spelling. Cf. Eberhard of Béthune, Laborintus 57: Physica, naturae speculum, duce sub galieno; Hugo of Trimberg, Registrum Multorum Auctorum 273, ed. K. Langosch, in Germanische Studien, CCXXXV (1942), 163: Galienus, Ypocras eciam scripserunt; J. Gower, Vox Clamantis 5. 230: eum sanum non Galienus aget. The ass's physician is, of course, appropriately called Galen after his celebrated predecessor of antiquity. Otherwise, the surname seems to have been uncommon in the Middle Ages. Some verses in praise of Lawrence of Durham by a contemporary called Galen are printed by J. Raine in his ed. of the Dialogi (London, 1880), p. xxxvii. U. Chevalier, Repertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age, Bibliographie, I (Paris, 1905), col. 1641, lists a thirteenth-century Dominican writer, Galien du Jardin. There was also a French romance called Galien li Restorés. Satire against the medical profession for its ineptitude and lack of integrity goes back to antiquity. Cf. Anthol. Gr. 11. 112-115 (Nicarchus), 117 (Strabo), 118-122 (Callicter), 123 (Hedylus), 124-126 (Nicarchus); Juv. 10. 221; Sid. Ep. 11. 11; Sen. Ben. 6. 36; Plin. HN 29, passim. Like John of Salisbury, Policrat. 11. 29, Nivard of Ghent, Ysengr. 3. 867, and Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, Prolog. 412-413, Nigel emphasizes the pompous loquacity of the physician. Despite his ad-

mission of incompetence, Galen is prepared to deceive his gullible patient and to receive large fees for his services.

In the next century Henry d'Andeli, La Bataille, pp. 45-47, ll. 99-129, berated the Parisian physicians for the fine houses they bought with the high fees they had collected. Nigel had a special reason for disliking the profession, for, as J. C. Robertson remarks in his edition of the Materials for the History of St. Thomas à Becket, I (London, 1875), introd., p. xxxix:

"There was a strong rivalry between the medical professors of those days and the monks who were concerned in the distribution of St. Thomas' miraculous benefits. We meet with continuous sneers against doctors as incompetent and inefficacious; and the description of the woman in the gospel who 'had suffered many things of many physicians, and had spent all that she had and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse' received many a pointed application." For the later medieval attitude toward physicians, see H. P. Cholmeley, John of Gaddesden (Oxford, 1912).

103-104. The proverb ultimately comes from Hippocrates, Aphorismata, 1. 1: ὁ βίός βραχύς, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὀξύς, ἡ δὲ πείρα σφαλερὴ, ἡ δὲ κρίσις χαλεπή. The collection became known in the West during the Carolingian period, according to L. C. MacKinney, Early Medieval Medicine (Baltimore, 1937), p. 98.

113. For other forms of this proverb, see Singer, II, p. 72.

114. An adaptation of Ov. Pont. 1. 3. 17: Non est in medico semper relevetur ut aeger.

116. Ipse minister adest: for the physician as a servant of Divine Grace, see Alcuin, Ep. 213, ed. E. Duemmler, MGHE, II (Berlin, 1895), pp. 356-357: Solent namque medici ex multorum speciebus pigmentorum . . . quoddam medicamenti componere genus, nec se ipsos fateri praesumunt creatores herbarum vel aliarum specierum . . . sed ministris; and John of Salisbury, Policrat. 2. 29: Quis enim praeconia illius declamare sufficiat, qui salutis artifex procurator vitae in eo Dominum imitatur et vices eius agit, quod salutem, quam ille operatur et quasi dominus et princeps donat, iste yconomus et minister procurat et dispensat?

125. Herbis refer to cheap medicines, pigmentis and speciebus to costly medicines, according to H. P. Cholmeley, John of Gaddesden, p. 83.

128. Cf. St. Ambrose, De Virginitate, PL, XVI, col. 291: Omnia Christus est nobis. Si vulnus curare desideras, medicus est; and St. Augustine, Confess. 2. 7: Qui enim vocatus a te secutus est vocem tuam et vitavit ea, quae me de me ipso recordantem et fatentem legit, non me derideat ab medico aegrum sanari, a quo sibi praestitum est, ut non aegrotaret, vel potius ut minus aegrotaret, et ideo te tantundem, immo vero amplius diligit. . . .

137-138. An allusion to the familiar fable of the town and country mouse related by Hor. Sat. 2. 6. 77-117.

145. Non honor est sed onus: Ov. Her. 9. 31.

153. Ex re nomen habens: Ov. Am. 1. 8. 3. Auriculatus: "Big-Eared." The Medieval Latin Word-List, ed. J. H. Baxter, C. Johnson, and P. Abrahams (London, 1934) cites another use of this word for the year 530.

166. Rem mora longa trahit: cf. Verg. Aen. 10. 888: Inde tot traxisse moras. . . .

167. Est leve dixisse: cf. Babio 461: Est leve quaeque lo qui. . . .

Ventus et aura ministrant: cf. Ov. Am. 1. 8. 106: Nec tulerint voces ventus et aura meas.

173-174. An echo of Heb. 2:10: Decebat enim eum, propter quem omnia, et per quem omnia. . . .

186. Maxim. 5. 54.

201. King Louis VII of France.

205. The aim of the story is to teach restraint. For its allegory and sources, see pp. 3-4.

207. Brunetta: "Brownie." The name is also used for a cow in the French fabliau, De Brunain la vache au prestre, ed. A. de Montaiglon, Recueil général et complet des fabliaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, I (Paris, 1872), 132-134: Bicornis: "two-horned." A common appellation of animals in poetry and post-Augustan prose. Cf. TLL, II, cols. 1991-1992.

218. Cf. Ov. Met. 1. 38: addidit et fontes et stagna immensa lacusque.

224. Lutum: lit. "mire," but the reference is clearly to the miry tails.

255-256. Cf. Corpus Juris Civilis, ed. S. Daoyz, VI (Geneva, 1612), 155: Cessante causa cessat effectus. The maxim, however, probably goes back to Ter. And. 5. 1. 18: ubi ea causa quam ob rem haec faciunt erit adempta his, desinent. Cf. also Andreas Capellanus, De Amore, ed. S. Battaglia (Rome, 1948), p. 32: Cessante igitur causa eius de necessitate cessat effectus.

257. Cf. Ysengr. 5. 319: Sumere praestabat modicum quam perdere totum. Nigel also plays on these words in the Tractatus (Wright, I, p. 177): Sicque ambitiosus partem amisit pro toto, immo partem et totum, et ille pater accepit partem pro toto, malens possidere partem quam totum.

284. Absit ut illud agam: Gen. 44:17.

285-288. Cf. Babio 408: Incertos casus impetus omnis habet; Werner D 19: Dat mora consulta plus quam properatio stulta and M 71: Multum tardabit quicumque nimis properabit; Morawski 1244: Meus vaut bonne attente que malvaise haste and 1248: Meaux vault bone attendres que folement enchaucier; and Singer, III, pp. 78-79.

289. Impetus male cuncta ministrat: Stat. Theb. 10. 704-705.

291-292. Cf. Publilius Syrus, Sententiae 141 ed. J. W. Duff and A. M. Duff in Minor Latin Poets (London, 1953): *Consilium in dubiis remedium prudentis est.*

293-294. This maxim does not appear among those attributed to Cato.

299. Tempora labuntur: Ov. Fast. 6. 771.

300. Area lata patet: Ov. Her. 1. 72.

303. Fortune is often depicted as a harlot in medieval literature. See H. R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 56-57.

313-314. The fall of Troy was a popular theme among medieval poets from the late eleventh century onward. Those who wrote on it included Godfrey of Rheims, Odo of Orleans, Hugh Primas, Simon Chevre d'Or, Benoît of Ste. Maure, Joseph of Exeter, and Peter of Saintes. There are also many anonymous poems, the finest being the Pergama flere volo, which was widely imitated in the twelfth century. On this subject, see Raby, II, pp. 69-71, and A. Boutemy, "Le poème Pergama flere volo . . . et ses imitateurs du XII^e siècle," Latomus, V (1946), 233-244.

316. Remissa manus: cf. Heb. 12:12: *remissas manus*. Rege: probably Agamemnon.

341. Gratia prosit: Ov. Her. 7. 41.

367-448. On the paradoxical encomium in classical and medieval literature, see A. S. Pease, "Things without Honor," Classical Philology, XXI (1926) 27-42.

374. Muscas improbitate graves: perhaps an echo of Plin. HN 19. 1. 8: *improbitatem muscae*.

391. Cf. Ov. Her. 10. 79: *Nunc ego non tantum, quae sum passura, recordor.*

394. Cana pruina: cf. Hor. Od. 1. 4. 4: *Nec prata canis albi cant pruinis.*

401. Levi saltu: Ov. Met. 7. 767.

Per inane volantes: Prud. Cath. 10. 146.

405-426. A parody of Soph. 1:15: *Dies irae dies illa, dies tribulationis et angustiae, dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebulae et turbinis.* For a general history of the development of the "Dies Irae" theme among medieval poets, see F. Ermini, II Dies Irae (Geneva, 1928). On the association of the tail in medieval allegory with the devil, moral evil and man's neglect of his eternal salvation, see S. Baring-Gould, Legends of Old Testament Characters (London, 1871), p. 112; M. Letts, Sir John Mandeville (London, 1949), p. 53; W. von Blankenburg, Heilige und dämonische Tiere (Leipzig, 1943), p. 135; H. W. Janson, Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (London, 1952), pp. 18, 38-39; and Rabanus Maurus, Expositiones in Leviticum, PL, CVIII, col. 497. Nigel expounds on the symbolism of the cows' tails in Wright, I, pp. 5-7.

436. Nec alterius quid: for nil alienum.

442. Vitalis of Blois, Geta 138, ed. E. Guilhou, in G. Cohen, ed., La "Comédie" Latine En France Au XII^e Siècle (Paris, 1931): Pendet ab illius nostra salute salus.

446. Tristis hiems: Ov. Ars Am. 1. 409.

459. Quam procul ut vidit: Ov. Tr. 3. 9. 11.

461. An adaption of Ov. Her. 9. 145: Ei mihi! quid feci? quo me furor egit amantem?

471-472. Cf. Ov. Her. 3. 63-64: Devorer ante, precor, subito telluris hiatu / Aut rutilo misi fulminis igne cremer.

477-478. Sonticus ille morbus: epilepsy. D. Riesman, The Story of Medicine in the Middle Ages (New York, 1936), p. 249, points out that it was regularly regarded as a contagious disease.

487. Modico contenta: Juv. 9. 9.

491-492. The Latin is obscure. The meaning seems to be that the tail prevents its owner's rump from being pricked by the horns of the following cow. But proprio must than refer to the latter.

495-499. Cf. Sen. Cons. Marc. 16. 6: nihil magis placeat quam quod amissum est; Werner N 47: Nescit homo, quid sit quod habet, si non prius absit; Morawski 391: Tel (le) chose ait on en despit que puis est moult regretes.

496. Quod fuit ante nihil: Maxim. 1. 222.

504. Cf. Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria Nova 791-792: Ergo sapit verbum si dicas: Tempora veris / Pingere flore solum, nasci primordia florum.

505. Induerat fronde nemus: cf. CB 140. 16: Fronde nemus induitur.

507-516. The bird list was a stock device among medieval poets. See, e.g., Alan. de Insul. Planc. Nat., Wright, II, pp. 431-456; CB 58 and 133; and Chaucer, The Parlement of Foules 323-364.

509-510. The nightingale is the traditional bird of spring in European folklore. This is an allusion to the classical myth of Tereus and Procne related by Apollodorus, Bibliotheca 3. 14, ed. R. Wagner (Leipzig, 1894), and Ov. Met. 6. 424-676. According to this story, Tereus, pretending that his wife Procne was dead, either raped or seduced her sister Philomena, and then cut out her tongue to keep her from telling. She wove a tapestry, however, depicting her misfortunes, and sent it to her sister. Procne revenged herself upon Tereus by serving up to him the flesh of their son Itys. In punishment, the Gods changed her into a nightingale and her sister, who was her accomplice in the preparation of the feast, into a swallow. A later tradition found among Latin authors and here followed by Nigel confused the two and made Philomena the nightingale. On the nightingale tradition in medieval literature generally, see F. J. E. Raby, "Philomena prae via temporis amoeni," Mélanges de Ghellinck (Gembloux, 1951), pp. 435-448.

517. Concentu parili: Prud. Cath. 5. 122.

Concordia discors: Ov. Met. 1. 433.

529-530. An echo of Ov. Met. 5. 612-613: Per tamen et campos, per opertos arbore montes, / Saxa quoque et rupes et qua via nulla, cucurri.

533. Saltibus et silvis: Verg. Geor. 3. 40 and Aen. 4. 72; Ov. Met. 2. 498.

544. Turba proterva: Ov. Her. 5. 136.

545. Illa volat: Ov. Her. 6. 66.

547-548. Quo se lugubris et amens . . . relictis malis: Ov. Met. 2. 334: In tantis dicenda malis; lugubris et amens.

564. Extulit illa caput: Ov. Met. 10. 419.

568. An echo of Avian. 18. 16: qui cupit e nostra discere morte potest.

571. Dulci mori miseris: Maxim. 1. 115.

Mite levamen: Ov. Her. 3. 62.

573-574. Cf. Publilius Syrus, Sententiae, 67: Bona mors est homini vitae quae exstingunt mala.

585-586. For the medieval doctrine of wealth and its uses, see V. Bartlett, "The Biblical and Early Christian Idea of Property" and A. J. Carlyle, "The Theory of Property in Medieval Theology," in Property, Its Duties and Rights (London, 1915), pp. 85-116, 119-132, and R. Schlatter, Private Property: The History of an Idea (New Brunswick, 1951), pp. 33-76. Nigel echoes the locus classicus on the subject, which goes back to Augustine, Tract. in Iohan. Evang., PL, XXXV, cols. 1436-1437: iure divino omnia sunt communia omnibus; iure vero constitutionis hoc meum, illud alterius est.

595. Burnelle: the ass's name was not Nigel's invention. A diminutive of "brunum" meaning "brown," it was derived from the language of popular philosophy which used to distinguish a particular (this ass) from a universal (ass). Cf. Ouvrages inédits d'Abelard, ed. V. Cousin (Paris, 1836), p. 354; K. Strecker, "Henricus Septimellenis und die zeitgenössische Literatur," Studi Medievali, II (1929) 119-120. We encounter it often as a surname under forms such as Burnel, Burnell', Burnellus, Brun, Brunus, and le Brun in documents of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Cf., e.g., Feet of Fines of the Ninth Year of the Reign of King Richard the First A.D. 1197 to A.D. 1198 (London, 1898), p. 111; Documents Preserved in France, Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, ed. J. H. Round, I (London, 1899), 3; Herefordshire Domesday, ed. V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait (London, 1950), pp. 116-117; The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twelfth Year of the Reign of King John, ed. C. F. Slade (London, 1951), pp. 15, 53, 190; Feet of Fines for the County of Norfolk for the Tenth Year of the Reign of King Richard and for the First Four Years of the Reign of King John, ed. B. Dodwell (London, 1952), pp. 91, 110, 327. From the late

twelfth century onward, Burnellus became, chiefly among the poets, a popular synonym for asellus or asinus. This usage appears in Henry of Sett. Eleg. 2. 238, CB 6. 19-20, and Werner I 45. There is an ass called Daun Burnell in The Chester Plays, ed. H. Deimling (London, 1893), p. 91.

589-590. Cf. Ov. Am. 2. 6. 48: Clamavit moriens lingua, Corinna, vale.

594. Cf. Ecb. Capt. 1093: Vermibus et vespis optabilis esca iacebis; Fromund of Tegernsee, Epitaphium Rihteri 21, ed. K. Strecker, Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung (Berlin, 1925): vermis et esca sumus.

619. Salerno and Montpellier were the centers of medical study in the early Middle Ages. See Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria Nova 1008-1012: In morbis sanat medici virtute Salernum / Ae gros; in causis Bonomia legibus armat / Nudos; Parisius in artibus illos / Panes, unde cibatur robustos, Aurelianus / Edicat in cunis auctorum lacte tenellos.

626. Valuere manus: Ov. Her. 8. 7.

643-662. For other mock recipes, see P. Lehmann, Die Parodie im Mittelalter (Munich, 1922), p. 235, and Parodistische Texte, Beispiele zur lateinischen Parodie im Mittelalter (Munich, 1923), pp. 72-73. There is also a mock prescription for the recovery of virginity in Baucis et Traso 309-321, ed. J. Mouton, in Cohen, La "Comédie" Latine.

643. Furni septemplex: a reminiscence of Dan. 3:19: Et precepit ut succenderetur fornax septuplum quam succendi consueverat.

649-650. Probably a reference to the fact that the peacock utters its loud penetrating scream only after it has erected its plumes during the erotic display to the peahen. See E. A. Armstrong, Bird Display and Behavior, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1943), p. 52.

651. Rubra mappa: Juv. 5. 27.

654. Cirolus: a "mite." For the meaning of this rare word, see B. Migliorini, "Cirolus," Bulletin du Cange, IX (1934), 256-258.

657. Monte Iovis: the Great St. Bernard. Its Latin name was derived from the temple erected by the Romans on the pass itself and was still used during the Middle Ages. See J. E. Tyler, The Alpine Passes in the Middle Ages, 962-1250 (Oxford, 1930), p. 68.

659. Sancti de nocte Iohannis: i.e., Midsummer Day, June 24, the nativity of St. John the Baptist.

661. Serpents' tails were thought to possess healing substances in antiquity. Cf. Dracontius, Sat. 65-68 and In Laud. Dei 2. 262-264, ed. F. Vollmer, MGH, XIV (Berlin, 1905); Plin. HN 29. 4. 21; Lucan 6. 673; and Auson. Epig. 3. 12.

668. Nam mea res agitur: Hor. Ep. 1. 18. 84.

673. Idioma: "language," here, Greek, which, of course, the ass does not understand.

677. Cf. the anonymous couplet quoted by B. Hauréau, Notices et Extraits de quelques Manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale, I (Paris, 1890), p. 374: *sit tibi potus aqua, cibus aridus, aspera vestis, / Dorso virga, brevis somnus, durumque cubile!*

686. An omen of ill-luck according to an ancient superstition. Cf. J. Aubrey, Remains of Gentilisme and Judaism, ed. J. Britten (London, 1881), pp. 26, 60, 87-88, 177; and F. B. Dresslar, Superstition and Education (Berkeley, 1907), p. 99.

687. Cf. Ov. Her. 13. 90: *Signa reversuri sint, precor ista veri.*

689. Ov. Met. 7. 518.

703. Cf. Babio 65: *Quid mihi cum croceo?*

703-714. Warnings of the evil effects of wine are a commonplace of medieval literature. Cf. Eugenius, Contra Ebrietatem, ed. F. Vollmer, MGH (Berlin, 1905), pp. 236-237; Ivo of Chartres, Decretum, PL, CLXI, cols. 818-819; St. Bruno, Sententiae, PL, CLXV, col. 936; Alan. de Insul., Summa de Arte Predicatoria, PL, CCX, cols. 119-120; Innocent III, De Contemptu Mundi, PL, CCXVII, col. 724; Fec. Rat. 234. For warnings from medieval sermons and exempla, see G. R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1933), p. 427. Poetical debates on the respective merits of wine and water or wine and beer were popular in the late twelfth century. There is a comprehensive study of this literature by H. Walther, Die Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters (Munich, 1920). See also Raby, II, pp. 283-289; A. Wilmart, "Une suite au poème de Robert de Beaufeu pour l'éloge de la cervoise," Revue Bénédictine, L (1938), 136-140; and E. Braunholz, "Die Streitgedichte Peters von Blois und Roberts von Beaufeu über den Wert des Weines und Bieres," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XLVII (1947), 32-38.

710. Quartanam, sc., febrem.

712. Cf. Werner A 24: *Acuit ingenium vinum moderamine sumptum.*

717. The estimate of the time required to travel from Cremona to Salerno, a distance of some four hundred miles, should not be taken literally, although it was entirely possible for a traveler on horse or mule to average thirty-five miles a day. See G. Parks, The English Traveler to Italy (Stanford, 1954), pp. 179-216, 495-566.

721. St. Julian the Poor, or the Hospitaller, was a patron saint of travelers.

740. Tristis abire: Avian. 13. 7.

743. Relations between England and Italy were close at this period. See C. H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," English Historical Review, XXVI (1911), 433-447; idem, Studies in Medieval Culture (Oxford, 1929), p. 97; idem, "Henry II as a Patron of Literature," in Essays in Medieval His-

tory Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout, ed. A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 71-77; E. Jamison, "Alliance of England and Sicily in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century," in England and the Mediterranean Tradition (Oxford, 1945), pp. 20-32, and "The Sicilian Norman Kingdom in the Mind of Anglo-Norman Contemporaries," Proceedings of the British Academy, XXIV (1938), 250-277. For English merchants and settlers in the Mediterranean at this time, of whom Godric may be taken as a typical example, see Poole, pp. 94-95, and Parks, The English Traveler, pp. 143-177.

756. The bishop of London at this time was Gilbert Foliot (1163-1189) who throughout his career vainly coveted the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. Cf. D. Knowles, The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 44-46.

757. I.e., he was snub-nosed. This is the only surviving physical description of the bishop.

761. Annus et annus: "two years." The repetition is derived from popular Latin. See W. E. Plater and H. J. White, A Grammar of the Vulgate (Oxford, 1926), p. 27.

772. There is no other evidence that Foliot was seriously ill or rumored dead at this time.

785-788. The names of the merchant and his family exhibit the tropological device of pronomination. Truffator, a ML sb. meaning "rogue," "sharper," "swindler," or "cheat," and Truffa aptly describe the character of the English merchant and his wife. Truffator's mother Gila and sister Gula take their names from L. gula meaning "gluttony."

810-822. Nigel loses no opportunity in the SS to revile peasants through his central character, depicting them as cruel and cunning. The tone of his remarks reflects the traditional medieval satire against rustics, which appears in innumerable invectives, fabliaux, and proverbs. Much of this literature has been collected and edited by F. Novati, Carmina Medii Aevi (Florence, 1883), pp. 25-38. Further references will be found in G. G. Coulton, The Medieval Village (Cambridge, 1925), p. 91 and note.

811-822. A parody of an ecclesiastical anathema. For other examples, see Lehmann, Die Parodie, pp. 157-162, 212-216; Alan. de Insul. Planct. Nat., Wright, II, pp. 520-521; The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes, ed. T. Wright (London, 1841), pp. 75-76.

811. cotidiana, sc., febris.

819-820. Cf. Ysengr. 7. 230: Pessima quae potuit monstra cacare Satan.

825. Crastina lux aderat: ibid. 5. 511.

829. For a description of the travel routes between Northern Europe and Italy with a full list of their respective stages, see Parks, The English Traveler, pp. 179-216, and Tyler, The Alpine Passes, pp. 3-4.

831. Quidam de Fratribus Albis: a Cistercian "converse" (see l. 977), i.e., a laybrother engaged in the field and farm work of the monastery.

833. Molossos: sheep- and watch-dogs. Cf. Hor. Ep. 6. 5 and Lucr. 5. 1063-1072.

839. Cf. Owst, Literature and Pulpit, p. 176, for an account of French vineyard watchers with their cries to trespassers, "Va la voye! Va la voye!"

847. Grimbaldus: OE "Grimbeald" ("grim": "savage," "beald": "bold"). A common name in the Middle Ages. See the Curia Regis Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office (London, 1922-), I, pp. 295, 341; II, pp. 116, 294; III, pp. 34, 82, 99; IV, pp. 190, 193, 225, 306, 313; The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twelfth Year of the Reign of King John and . . . for the Tenth Year of the Reign of King Richard The First, ed. D. M. Stenton (London, 1932), pp. 8 and 180; E. G. Withycombe, The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names (Oxford, 1946), pp. 62-63; O. von Feilitzen, The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book (Uppsala, 1937), p. 275; W. G. Searle, Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 268-269.

873. Miser et miserabilis: Apoc. 3:17.

877. Fromund is a name not often found in the Middle Ages. Perhaps the most distinguished bearer of it was the eleventh-century poet of Tergernsee cited herein in the note to l. 594.

883. Cf. Epistolae Cantuarienses 322, p. 306, where the writer, who may have been Nigel, describes Archbishop Baldwin as creeping to the royal court "gressu formicino, immo testudineo"; Ysengr. l. 433-434: Et cum tinnierint veniendi cimbala signum / Fratribus, ad mensas cetis adesto celer.

889-890. The point of this jibe is that the Cistercians claimed to adhere strictly to the Rule of St. Benedict. See St. Bernard, De Praecepto et Dispensatione, PL, CLXXXII, cols. 886-889, and D. J. Othon, "Les Origines cisterciennes," Revue Mabillon, XXIII (1933), 88 n. 2, for the testimonies of William of Malmesbury, Ordericus Vitalis, Robert of Torigny, Peter the Venerable, Philip the Chancellor, John of Salisbury, and Stephen of Tournai.

895-896. A reference to the Third Lateran Council of March 1179. The twenty-second canon of the Council, De Pace Servanda, forbade the molestation of travelers and may have suggested to Nigel the sentiments that he puts into the mouth of his hero. Cf. J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, XXII (Venice, 1778), col. 229.

897-956. A. Boutemy, "Sur le 'prologue en prose,'" 76-77, contends that these lines refer to the legatine mission of Peter of Pavia to France. There is no real evidence, however, to support his view.

914. Cf. Corpus Juris Civilis, VI, p. 336: poenam maiorem vel minorem causa cognita impositam dum patitur reus damnatus, est infamis. . . .

945. Cf. Prud. Summ. 2. 750: his ego pro meritis quae prae mia rependam.

959. The Cistercians had been exempted from the payment of the tithe by Pope Innocent II in 1132. The exemption eventually gave rise to bitter resentment among the bishops and other tithe-owners. Their dissatisfaction arose not only from their personal loss of income, but also from the tremendous wealth acquired by the Cistercians in the course of the century as a result of their aggressiveness and industry, their peculiar agricultural economy, and their special privileges. Angry demands that the exemption be withdrawn were made in ever-increasing volume from the time of Peter the Venerable to that of the Lateran Council, where the matter was evidently discussed with much animosity. On June 6, 1178 or 1179, Pope Alexander himself addressed a letter to the Cistercian general chapter in which he referred to the continual complaints of ecclesiastics concerning the tithe and commanded the Order to discontinue its acquisition of monasteries and to halt its expansion of land and pasturage. At about this time, too, Archbishop Richard of Canterbury, in an undated letter, personally appealed to the abbot and brethren of Cîteaux to renounce voluntarily their exemption from the tithe. Nigel evidently supported his primate's position. On the Cistercian economy and the complaints it aroused, see J. S. Donnelly, The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Laybrotherhood (New York, 1949), pp. 44-47; C. J. Hefele, Histoire des Conciles, trans. M. L'Abbé Delarc, VII (Paris, 1872), 479; Peter of Blois, Ep. 82, PL, CCVII, cols. 252-255; W. Wiederhold, "Papsturkunden in Frankreich," Göttingen Nachrichten, II (1906) 60-62; and the explanatory notes to SS 2111-2182.

959-960. The Cistercian prohibition against the use of breeches except for travelers was an attempt to return to the Benedictine rule. Cf. RSB, chap. 55; Exordium Cisterciensis Coenobii in P. Guignard, Les Monuments primitifs de la règle Cistercienne publiés d'après les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Cîteaux (Dijon, 1878), p. 71; J. M. Canivez, Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, I (Louvain, 1933), s.v., 1196; III (1935), s.v., 1262 and 1269. The custom provided their critics with a rich opportunity for ribaldry. See ll. 2137-2157 and note.

961. Novalia: meadow or fallow lands cleared and brought under cultivation for the first time. See J. S. Donnelly, Decline of Cistercian Brotherhood, pp. 45-46, 50-51.

963. poena: for usura. Cf. Gerald of Wales, Dialogus De Jure Et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae, ed. J. S. Brewer, Opera, III (London, 1863), p. 287.

968. Quolibet ire: Ov. Tr. 3. 8. 22.

971. Nisi: for numquam nisi. Cf. ll. 2097, 3171.

976. Cf. Theodulf, Carm. 25. 161, ed. E. Duemmler, MGHP. Car., I (Berlin, 1894): Cui dum vita comes fuerit.

977-978. An imitation of Sextus Amarcus, Sermones, I. 2. 153-155, ed. M. Manitius (Leipzig, 1888): Quid de conversis, quos recto nomine vero / appellare volens perversos dicere debet / Christae, feram?

980-982. Mutilation was a common means of punishment in the Middle Ages. See Poole, pp. 400-405, and G. Ives, A History of Penal Methods (London, 1904), p. 14.

991-992. Ultra quam credi poterit . . . ait: Gen. 27:33.

994. The ancient punishment for parricides was to be tied in a sack and drowned. Cf. Cic. De Invent. 2. 50. 194; Juv. 8. 214; Suet. Aug. 33.

1007. Fama loquax: Ov. Met. 9. 193.

1012. Flectere nemo potest: John of Salisbury, Entheticus 474.

1015-1022. Cf. Babio 5-9: Cui retegam, non est: non est cui fidere possim / Alba nec est cornix, fida nec ulla fides / Rem retigi timeo, timeo ne fabula fiam: / In caput hoc malo clava trinidad eat. / Rem referam mecum, soli mihi fidere possum.

1017. Menstruus: "uncertain," "changeable." Cf. below, ll. 1711, 2314.

1021. Res erit arcana: Primas 12. 1, ed. W. Meyer, "Die Ox-forder Gedichte des Primas," Göttingen Nachrichten (1907), 147.

1026. Credulus ille: Ov. Her. 5. 106.

1029. An echo of Ov. Met. 15. 16: . . . requie longum relevasse laborem.

1031-1038. Fromund describes the retreat in terms of the medieval conception of the earthly paradise whose traditional features—the neighboring river, pleasant climate, leafy groves, fruitful fields—were already well established by the twelfth century. See H. R. Patch, The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 134-174.

1037-1038. Cf. Lawrence of Durham, Dial. 4. 524, ed. J. Raines (London, 1880) (describing paradise): Quicquid et opta bis vita beata dabit.

1045-1046. A paraphrase of Ephes. 2:19: Ergo jam non estis hospites, et advenae; sed sed estis cives sanctorum, et domestici dei.

1051-1052. Cf. Lidia 309, ed. E. Lackenbacher, in Cohen, La "Comédie" Latine: Palliat illa dolum subridens.

1055. Minans: "leading." For other forms of the proverb, see Werner A 73: Altera mens asini, mens altera qui regit illum; Fec. Rat. 1. 258: Idem animus non est asino pueroque minanti; Ysengr. 4. 368: Optat sic asino, tendit agasso secus.

1059-1060. Cf. Miles Gloriosus 335-336, ed. R. Baschet, in Cohen, La "Comédie" Latine: Sic laquem laqueo, sic fraudem fraude redemit / Miles; Venantius Fortunatus, Carm. 2. 2. 8, ed. F. Leo, MGH, IV (Berlin, 1881): arte ut artem falleret.

1074. Ora resolvit: Verg. Geor. 4. 452.

1075. A parody of Sedulius, Hymnus I, 1. 1. ed. I. Huemer (Vienna, 1885): Cantemus, socii, Domino, cantemus honorem.

1078. Cf. 2 Kings 6:5: David autem et omnis Israel ludebant coram Domino in omnibus lignis fabrefactis, et citharis, et lyris, et tympanis, et sistris, et cymbalis.

1082. Cf. Ov. Her. 5. 134: et poteras falli legibus ipse tuis.

1087-1088. Psa. 7:16: Lacum aperit, et effodit eum; et in cidit in foveam quam fecit.

1107. Sic ars deluditur arte: Cato 1. 26. 2.

1135. Delira senectus: ultimately from Cic. Or. 2. 18. 75: deliros senes.

1141. Cf. Hor. A. P. 175: Multa ferunt anni venienti comoda secum.

1147. Mens mea caeca futuri: Lucan 2. 14-15.

1151. Cf. Matt. 12:45: et fiunt novissima hominis illius pejora prioribus.

1152. Cf. Alexander Nequam, De Naturis Rerum, ed. T. Wright (London, 1863), p. 266: Asinus animal oneriferum, mancipium servituti addictum, respectu multitudinis laborum quos sustinet, parum gratiae consequitur. Sicut autem in equitio quidam equi sunt emissarii, sic et asini quidam prolis indulgent procreationi. Cum vero asino non suppetit facultas accendi ad asinam, equam in foveam adducit ut parvitate ipsius succurrat marginis altitudo. Sic subditi jugo servitutis, parum gratiae in oculis Altissimi pro merentes. Petulantiae namque serviunt et lasciviae, sese in foveam pertinaciae cum concupiscentia carnis praecipitantes. Asinus item in anteriori parte debilis esse fertur, sed clunibus ejus natura robur contulit. Sic sic in studiorum spiritualium exercitiis ad aeterna gaudia tendentibus multi reperiuntur desides et debiles, qui circa carnis desideria peragenda prompti sunt ex expediti. In renibus quippe delectatio consistit. Per anteriora vero aeterna designantur; unde apostolus: "Posteriorum obliti, in anteriora nos extendamus."

1155-1156. Cf. Singer, II, p. 89.

1165-1166. Tacentes clamabunt: cf. Cic. Cat. I. 21: cum ta cent, clamant.

1172. Possibly an indelicate allusion to an erection.

1177. Patiensque laborum: Ov. Tr. 1. 5. 71.

1189. Perhaps a reminiscence of Ov. Ars. Am. 3. 418: Saepe vagos ultra limina ferte pedes.

1197. Labor improbus omnia vincet: Verg. Geor. 1. 145-146.

1198. Deus audaces . . . juvare: cf. Verg. Aen. 10. 284: Aud entis Fortuna juvat.

1200. Artibus, sc., liberalibus.

1201. Medieval students frequently traveled from one university to another. The careers of Adalbert of Mainz, Guy of Bazoches, John of Salisbury, Gerald of Wales, Alexander of Hales, Matthew of Vendome, Herbert of Bosham, Robert Grosseteste,

Gerald la Pucelle, Peter of Blois, Thomas Becket, and Daniel Morley are only a few of those who might be cited in this connection.

1203. Pagina divina: theology.

Decreta: canon law.

1225-1228. A gibe at the enormous increase in the number of masters in the last half of the twelfth century. On this subject, see H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 2d ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, I (Oxford, 1936), 289-290.

1225-1226. Students flocked to Paris from all over Europe in the twelfth century. A. Budinsky, Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter (Berlin, 1876), pp. 178-206, lists and discusses the Italian students who attended the schools. For other foreign students, see E. Lesne, Les écoles de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la fin du XII^e siècle (Lille, 1940), p. 207, and A. L. Gabriel, "English Masters and Students in Paris During the XIIth Century," Analecta Praemonstratensia, XXV (1949), 51-53.

1226. On the hazards of the student's journey to the university, see Haskins, Studies in Medieval Culture, pp. 18-19. The chief danger was robbery.

1233-1248. The resumé helps to create an illusion of the passage of time before the travelers reach Paris.

1251. On the allegory and sources of Arnold's story, see pp. 3-4.

1257. Willelmi: William the Bad (1154-1166).

1259-1260. Most country clergy were agriculturists on a large scale. See J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, 1945), pp. 61-62, and H. S. Bennett, Life on the English Manor (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 329-330.

1261. Despite the vigorous efforts of Gregorian reformers to enforce the ecclesiastical law forbidding the marriage of priests, a large number of the lower and higher clergy either openly flouted it or took mistresses commonly known as focariae. The evidence for England is set forth by C. N. L. Brooke, "Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050-1200," and "Married Men among the English Higher Clergy, 1066-1200," The Cambridge Historical Journal, XII (1956) 1-21, 187-188, and D. M. Stenton, English Society in the Early Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1951) pp. 211, 218.

1268. Coppa: a familiar name for a hen in medieval literature. Cf. Fec. Rat. 1109; Vox Clamantis l. 545; Roman du Renard, I, pp. 49-65; and Reinart de Vos, ed. J. F. Willems (Mechlin, 1858), pp. 14-22. J. and W. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, V (Leipzig, 1873), cols. 1872-1873, gives it as equivalent to Kapaun, Masthuhn, Hahn, and Henne.

1277. Cf. Cato 2. 4. 2: impedit ira animum ne possis cernere verum.

1293. The metaphor is repeated in ll. 2313-2314.

1300. Pervigil ante fores: Avian. 1. 4.

1317-1318. A bishop's dispensation was necessary before a priest's son could take Holy Orders. Cf. R. Génestal, Histoire de la légitimation des enfants naturels (Paris, 1905).

Meritis Ruffini: "through the influence of gold." Ruffinus, often coupled with Albinus ("silver"), was the name commonly used by satirists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to signify bribery. Cf. P. Lehmann, Die Parodie, p. 13.

1321. Ordinations were generally performed on one of the Saturdays of the Ember weeks. See L. Duchesne, Christian Worship, trans. M. L. McClure, 5th ed. (London, 1949), p. 353.

1322. Carabella: probably a city on the river Carapella in the province of Foggia. See L. Fossati, Dizionario Grafico d'Italia (Milan, 1905), p. 1152.

1355-1356. Cf. Ov. Tr. 1. 3. 33: iamque morae spatium nox praecipitata negabat.

1372. Intonat minas: cf. Ov. Am. 7. 46: Nec nimium rigidas intonuisse minas.

1375. Impatiensque morae: Prud. Psych. 116.

1376. Quaque potest voce: Ov. Her. 11. 86.

1386. Sacris, sc., vestibus.

1391-1392. The Introit of the twentieth Sunday after Pentecost: Omnia, quae fecisti nobis, Domine, in vero iudicio fecisti, quia peccavimus tibi, et mandatis tuis non obedivimus . . . , which ultimately stems from Dan. 3:31: Omnia ergo quae induxisti super nos, et universa, quae fecisti nobis, in vero iudicio fecisti.

1418. The remark seems to be addressed to the servants.

1419. Cf. Morawski 412: Cum pot si prenet; Werner U 121: Ut valet eveniat: utcumque potest, ita fiat!; B. J. Whiting, Proverbs in Early English Drama (Cambridge, 1938), p. 386, no. 201: Tel qu'il viendra il le prendra.

1421-1422. Iam mane fenestras intrat: Pers. 3. 1-2.

1439. The full quotation is: Tu autem, Domine, miserere nobis. It closes the reading of the lesson in the offices of the Roman Catholic Church.

1442. Nulla: for nulla alia.

1456. Omnia luctus: Ov. Her. 8. 75.

1469-1470. Variat fortuna vices: cf. Prud. Symm. 2. 318: sic variat natura vices.

Gaudia luctus occupat: Prov. 14:13: extrema gaudii luctus occupat.

1479. Bella gerant alii: Ov. Her. 13. 84.

1484. Qui bene dissimulat: Publilius Syrus, Sententiae, 562.

1487-1488. Cf. ibid., 166: Dolor animi nimis gravior est quam corporis.

1504. On the Parisian hospices catering especially to students, see Gabriel, "English Masters and Students," Analecta, 86, and F. M. Powicke, Stephen Langton (Oxford, 1928), p. 44. They were often situated along the rue S. Jacques.

1509. For the practice of bloodletting, see The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc, ed. D. Knowles (Edinburgh, 1951), pp. 93-95, 152-153, and L. Gougaud, Anciennes Coutumes Claustrales (Ligugé, 1930), pp. 49-68. An interesting list of the advantages of bloodletting appears in an anonymous twelfth-century scientific treatise quoted by L. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, I (New York, 1923), 728: "It contains the beginning of health, it purges the brain, it reforms the bladder, it warms the marrow, it opens the hearing, it checks tears, it removes nausea, it benefits the stomach, it checks digestion, it enriches sleep, it removes anxiety, it nourishes good health. . . ." The putative intellectual advantages to be derived from the practice may account for the ass's resort to it here.

1515. The formal organization of foreign scholars in Paris known as the "Nations" does not seem to have existed before the thirteenth century. Yet, as Gabriel has shown in his very able article mentioned in the note to ll. 1225-1226, there was a loose, fluid congregation of English scholars there in the twelfth century.

1515-1524. Nigel's characterization of the English closely resembles that given by Alexander Nequam, "Qualiter Anglorum possem describere gentem," ed. R. A. Browne, British Latin Selections A.D. 500-1400 (Oxford, 1954), p. 77.

1520. Sine lege bibunt: the English had a widespread reputation for bibulousness in the Middle Ages. Cf. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Poetria Nova 1003: Potatrix Anglia; Jacques de Vitry, Historia Occidentalis (Douai, 1856), p. 279: Anglicos potatores et caudati; an anonymous poem of the early thirteenth century quoted by F. Liebermann, MCHS, XXVII (Hanover, 1885), p. 77 n. 1: Angli caudati qui sunt ad pocula nati; John of Salisbury, Ep. 85, PL, CXCIX, col. 72: Peto . . . ut mihi faciatis copiam . . . ita . . . quod Anglico et potatori sufficere debeat; Wace, Roman de Rou 7357-7360, ed. H. Andresen (Heilbronn, 1877): Bublîe crient e weisseil / E laticome e drincheheil / Drinc Hidrewart e Drintome / drinc folf, drinc half e drinc tode. See also Poole, pp. 241-242, and U. T. Holmes, Daily Living in the Twelfth Century Based on the Observations of Alexander Neckham in London and Paris (Madison, 1952), pp. 52-53.

1521-1522. For the riotous life of Parisian students, see C. H. Haskins, "The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century," American Historical Review, X (1904), 19-20. The locus classicus on the subject of student morality is Jacques de Vitry, Historia Occidentalis, pp. 277-279. Gabriel, "English Masters and Students," Analecta, 86, is of the view that "these

convivial gatherings were the origins of the festivals of the English Nation which consisted of fraternal drinking in an appointed tavern after the initiations of the Masters and other occasions."

1521. The line is equivalent to the saying wine, women, and song. Persona secunda here implies lechery. The phrase is found again in l. 2436 where it means "mate." For the toast "Washeyl and Drinkheyl," see the quotation from Wace in the note to l. 1520; Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britannie 6. 12, ed. A. Griscom (London, 1929); John of Hanville, Architrenius, Wright, I, p. 268; Gerald of Wales, Speculum Ecclesiae, 3. 13, ed. J. S. Brewer, Opera, IV (London, 1873). U. T. Holmes, Daily Living, pp. 52-53, gives a detailed description of the wassail procedure.

1529-1530. The therapeutic effect of sexual intercourse is a commonplace among ancient and medieval writers on medicine. Nigel would certainly have known the passages in Plin. HN 10 and 16. According to William of Newburgh, Historia Regum Angliarum 1. 3, ed. R. Howlett (London, 1844), doctors recommended sexual intercourse to Archbishop Thomas of York as a cure for his illness.

1533-1538. A whimsical allusion to a standing medieval jest called Anglicus Caudatus, which arose from the legend that St. Augustine of Canterbury condemned the men of Dorset to wear tails in punishment for a violent attack they had made upon him when he endeavored to preach the faith among them. In the course of the twelfth century, the legend was retold of the English people as a whole who were often given the sobriquet "caudati." On the origin and growth of this legend, see M. Houck, Sources of the Roman de Brut of Wace, Univ. of Calif. Pub. Eng., V, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941), 265-272, and G. Neilson, Caudatus Anglicus (Edinburgh, 1896). Caps with long tails were a normal part of student dress in the Middle Ages. Cf. P. Capparoni, Magistri Salernitani nondum cogniti (London, 1923), front. The lines may also have an obscene implication.

1544. Medieval students were slow to quit the academic life. C. H. Haskins, "The Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by their Letters," American Historical Review, III (1898), 216 n. 6, quotes Buoncompagno in reference to a student who spent 28 years in study. John of Salisbury spent 12 years studying at Paris, Chartres, and other centers. Cf. Matthew of Vendome, Ep. 3. 85-86, ed. W. Wattenbach, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, II (1872): Parisius studui duo per quinquennia.

1551. For the corporal punishments of students in the Middle Ages, see G. G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, I (Cambridge, 1929), 452-453; H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe, III, pp. 328-358; and Aelfric's Colloquy, ed. G. N. Garmonsway (London, 1939), p. 18 and note.

1560. Possibly an echo of John of Salisbury, Entheticus 540: Angit hic, illa foveat, hic fugit, illa manet.

1561. Cf. Werner D 23: Dat studium mores si dat natura priores and M 49: Mos est convictus per te, natura, relictus.

1566. Vento pulvis abire: cf. Prud. Ham. 387-388: Quod velut excitus difflato pulvere ventus / Praeterit.

1576. The first mention of Burnell's native city. Nigel must have decided on Cremona as his hero's place of origin after he began the poem. Otherwise, he would hardly have had the ass return home from Salerno by way of the Alps and the Rhone valley (ll. 657-660, 829).

1585. Appulus: probably "Italian" rather than "Appulian."

1597-1598. Cf. John of Hanville, Architrenius, Wright, I, p. 385: Et Lachesis gemino succiso pollice partis; Babio 241-242: Inconcinna mihi natalia fata dedisti / Nesque, mihi, Lachesis, pollice fila truci.

1613. An echo of Anthol. Lat. 786: Cum mea me mater grava gestaret in alvo.

1621-1624. A paraphrase of Avian. l. 1-2: Rustica deflentem parvum iuraverat olim, / ni taceat, rabido, quod feret esca lupo; and Ov. Her. 10. 96: destituor rapidis praeda cibisque feris.

1641-1648. For this idea, see Peter of Blois, Ep. 65, PL, CCVII, cols. 190-195, and John of Salisbury, Policrat. l. 17.

1672. Quam, sc., ut.

1673. The pontificals comprised seven garments or articles: mitre, sandals, staff, ring, gloves, dalmatic, and tunicle.

1683. Cornua: a popular term for a mitre. Cf. CB 39. 4: episcopi cornuti; Gerald of Wales, Speculum Ecclesiae. 3. 7: abbas . . . cornutus; Apocalypsis Goliae 129, ed. T. Wright, The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes (London, 1844): Vae gentis miserae cornutis ducibus. Horns are traditionally symbolic of power: cf. Ov. Ars. Am. l. 239: tunc pauper cornua sumit.

1689. "The privilege granted to abbots of using some, or all, of the episcopal vestments and insignia, rare before c. 1050, became increasingly common after that time. Until c. 1150 it was a sign that the Curia considered the monastery to be a papal Eigenkirche; after that date, it was often merely an isolated favour, granted, e.g., to Glastonbury and (in 1254) to the prior of the cathedral monastery of Winchester." So Knowles, p. 711, who lists the following bestowals upon English houses in Nigel's time: St. Albans (1161), Westminster (1174 and 1177), Bury (1183), and Glastonbury (1192).

1691-1702. Abbatial recipients of the pontificals were refused the privilege normally exercised by bishops of consecrating the Holy Chrism which was used in the religious rites of the Roman Church. Cf. F. Barlow, Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars (Oxford, 1950), pp. ix-x. The refusal of the favor provided

other satirists besides Nigel with an opportunity for coarse humor at abbatial expense. Cf. Marbod, De Abbate Usurpente Pontificalia, PL, CLXXI, col. 1656, and the anonymous, De Abbatis mitris utentibus et deliciose viventibus, Wright, II, pp. 230-231.

1700. Sine re nomen: Ov. Am. 3. 3. 23.

1707. Quibus: the ears and genitals of mules and the mitres of abbots.

Patiuntur eclipsim: i.e., they cannot beget.

1717. Cf. Acts 8:9-13.

1733-1734. Cf. Alan. de Insul. Rythmus 1-3, PL, CCX, col. 579: Omnis mundi creatura / Quasi liber et pictura / Nobis est, et speculum.

1738. Forma gregis: cf. Eugenius, De Pontificibus 1-2, ed. F. Vollmer, MGH (Berlin, 1905), p. 276: Ipse prior nitidam ducat sine crimine vitam, / Ut sit commissi splendida forma gregis.

1745-1746. Matt. 6:22-23: Lucerna corporis tui est oculus tuus. Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit. Si autem oculus tuus fuerit, nequam, totum corpus tuum tenebrosum erit.

1757. Job. 29:15: oculus fui caeco, et pes claudio.

1759-1760. Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, De Consideratione, PL, CLXXXII, col. 741: Causa viduae intret ad te, causa pauperis, et ejus qui non habet quod det.

1764. I Kings 16:7: Et dixit Dominus ad Samuelem: Ne respicias vultum ejus neque altitudinem staturae ejus, quoniam abjece eum, nec juxta intuitum hominis ego judico; homo enim videt ea quae parent, Domino autem intuetur cor.

1782. Obstipo vertice: Hor. Sat. 2. 5. 92.

1827. Prisoners were brought from prison with their hands and feet free. Cf. Henry de Bracton, De Legibus et Consuetudinibus, ed. T. Twiss, II (London, 1883), p. 403.

1828. Onus: the fetters.

1837. Job. 31:78: Ab infantia mea crevit mecum miseratio.

1838. Cf. Henry of Sett. Eleg. 1. 43: Sum miser et miseri nullus miserans miseretur; Walter of Châtillon, Carm. 16. 68, ed. K. Strecker (Heidelberg, 1929): miserans misereor miseros Hebraeos; Idem, Alexandreis 4. 421, ed. W. Müldener (Leipzig, 1863): docens miseris misereri; Primas 7. 31: miseris misereri.

1841. Inter mille: Ov. Her. 13. 97.

1841-1842. Cf. Sextus Amarcus, Sermones, 1. 75: Cui bona tu facis, aspergit rumore malo te; Werner H 45: Hostem semper emit, qui furem de cruce demit, H 46: Hostem semper emit, quem quis de morte redemit, N 204: Non numquam fractum collum fuit ob benefactum, and R 48: Res collum fregit quam quis non turpiter egit; Morawski 463: Pur bein fait col freint.

1867. Fletibus ora rigarent: Ov. Met. 2. 419; Verg. Aen. 9. 251.

1876. Desinet esse tua: cf. Babio 70: Quam, Babio, Viola desinet esse tua.

1895. St. Leonard was a patron of prisoners.

1899-1900. Cf. Werner N 28: *Nemo potest cura nature solvere iura.*

1917. Possibly a reference to Monmartre.

1921-1923. The ass imagines that he is looking down on Rome from the Great St. Bernard (Mons Jovis). For the great walls of Paris, see L. Halphen, Paris sous les premiers Capetiens (Paris, 1909), pp. 9, 11, 12, 23, 27-28; M. Poëte, Une Vie de Cité: Paris, I (Paris, 1924), pp. 90-91, 96, and the sixteenth-century map at the end.

1951. Romipeta: "a traveler bound for Rome." A ML coinage on the analogy of such late Latin substantives as lucipeta: "that which seeks the Light" (cf. A. Souter, A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D. [Oxford, 1949], p. 236). It eventually became the English surname Romer which was used from the thirteenth century onward (see C. W. Bardsley, A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames [London, 1901], p. 653).

1975-1976. Damni praesaga . . . mens: Verg. Aen. 10. 843.

1999-2000. "Scholars are constantly warned against the vanity of much study and against the sense of pride or false doctrine which may arise from wandering beyond the limits of modest attainment." Haskins, "The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century," American Historical Review, X (1904), 11, who quotes from the warnings of Jacques de Vitry, Guiard de Laon, Prévostin, Gautier de Saint-Thierry, and Robert de Sorbon.

2002. Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, Epigrammata, Wright, II, p. 165: *O miseri! Deus ipse monet, vel sero redite, / Ne subito vobis aeternum dicat, "Abite."*

2028. Cf. Babio 472: *Facta priora volo claudere fine bono.*

2041. Cf. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 105, PL, CLXXXII, col. 240: *Nil mortalibus vel morte certius vel incertius hora mortis.*

2053-2068. The military religious order of the Temple was founded about 1118 by a Burgundian knight, Hugh de Payns, and his friend, Godfrey de St. Omer, for the purpose of protecting pilgrims to the Holy Land.

2053. The red cross worn over the white Cistercian habit was a later addition sanctioned by Pope Eugenius III. Cf. J. B. Williamson, The History of the Temple (London, 1924), pp. 14-15.

2056. Tyre was the center of the Templars' military activity in 1179.

2061-2062. I have not found this prohibition in the Rule of the order. However, among the statutes of the Hospitallers, whose discipline was similar to that of the Templars, drawn up by Fr. William of S. Estène, appears this statement: "And if a brother ride his horse at full gallop [*cours entier*] let him undergo the

Septaine, because he can only ride his horse at a canter [demi cours] without the leave of his bailiff." E. J. King, The Rule Statute and Customs of the Hospitallers, 1099-1310 (London, 1934), p. 160. Cf. also John of Salisbury, Policrat. 7. 13.

2063. Only the knights were permitted to wear white mantles. Cf. La Regle du Temple, ed. H. de Curzon (Paris, 1886), p. 29, sect. 22.

2064-2068. An allusion to the massacre of the Templars by Saladin's forces at Jacob's Ford on August 30, 1179. For graphic contemporary reports of the debacle, see William of Tyre, Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahumet usque ad annum MCLXXIV 18. 3, PL, CCI, col. 846; William of Newburgh, Historia Rerum Anglicarum 3. 13; and Robert of Torigny, Chronica, ed. R. Howlett (London, 1889), p. 286.

2067-2068. The same fear is voiced by Guyot de Provins, Bible 1695-1788, ed. J. Orr (Manchester, 1915).

2065. Cf. Werner D 26: De cute non propria maxima corrigia, C 111: Corrigiam brevis quis de cute sumit alius?; Morawski 453: De autri quir large coraie; G. Schleich, "The Proverbs of Hending," Anglia, LI (1927) 264, no. 30: Of unboht huide me taketh brod pong; Jacques de Vitry, The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares, ed. T. F. Crane (London, 1890), p. 63: De alieno corio fierent larga corrigia.

2069-2076. The crusading religious order of the Hospital was recognized by Pope Paschal II for the care of poor and sick pilgrims. Under its second Master, Raymond de Puy (1118-1159), it became more than a local institution and developed a fighting as well as a nursing character. Like the Temple, it grew rapidly, sharing the same privileges and exemptions as its sister order, and acquired vast wealth for which it was severely criticized. Map l. 23 accuses its members of overweening avarice. Gerald of Wales, Speculum Ecclesiae 3. 12, says that their worldliness was encouraged by Pope Alexander III. William of Tyre, Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis 18. 3, charges them with arrogance and complains of their refusal to allow their tenants to pay tithes and of their willingness to give the sacraments to persons excommunicated by the bishops. Nigel deplores their excessive austerity and boastfulness.

2069. The Hospitallers wore a red cross over a black mantle. Cf. E. J. King, The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land (London, 1931), p. 22.

2070. The Hospitallers were not engaged against the forces of Saladin in 1179.

2071. Flagellation was a familiar part of the austere discipline of the military orders. See King, The Knights Hospitallers, p. 69.

2072. The diet of the Hospitallers was no more rigorous than

that of the Austin Canons on which it was based. For the statute of Raymond de Puy regarding the food of the brethren, see the Cartulaire-Générale de l'ordre des hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jerusalem (1100-1310), ed. Delaville Le Roulx, I (Paris, 1894), no. 70, stat. 8.

2073-2074. I have not seen this charge repeated elsewhere.

2075-2076. This remark is not to be taken literally. The Hospitallers were deprived of their habit only for such grave offenses as heresy, desertion, abominable vice, and cowardice in action. See King, The Knights Hospitallers, p. 69.

2077-2110. The monastery of Cluny, a small town 12 miles northwest of Maçon in Burgundy, was founded in 910 by Berno, abbot of Baume. The splendor, luxury, and elaborate liturgical life for which it eventually became noted, provided medieval satirists with an unfailing target. Adalbero of Laon's attack upon it in the eleventh century in his "Carmen ad Rotbertum Regem" in Les poèmes satiriques d'Adalberon, ed. G. A. Huckel, (Paris, 1901), pp. 121-167, was followed by the onslaughts of St. Bernard of Clairvaux in his celebrated correspondence with William of St. Thierry (PL, CLXXXII, cols. 895-915) and with Peter the Venerable (ibid., cols. 398-417), and by the invectives of Hugo Sottovagina of York (cf. BM MS. Cotton Vitellius A. xii and Bodley MS. Digby 85) and Gerald of Wales, Speculum Ecclesiae 2. 14.

2078. The Cluniac dinner consisted of three courses: a plate of dried beans, a second of other vegetables, and a third of either fish or eggs which were served in generous quantities, four or five being allowed to each monk. On the Cluniac regime, see G. de Valous, Le Monachisme Clunisien des origines au XV^e siècle, I (Vienna, 1935), pp. 250-287; R. Graham, "Life at Cluny in the Eleventh Century," in English Ecclesiastical Studies (London, 1929), p. 35. The vegetables were cooked in fat, except on Ember days and during Lent, and were seasoned with salt. See the Consuetudines Cluniacenses, PL, CXIX, col. 727, and the Consuetudines Monasticae, ed. B. Albers, II (Stuttgart, 1905), 201-202.

2079-2082. An allusion to the elaborate night office and to the long and tiring chant of Cluny. See de Valous, Le Monachisme Clunisien, pp. 327-372, for a detailed discussion of Cluniac liturgy. It consumed eight, rather than the normal four, hours of the monastic day. For a valuable comparative table of the monastic horarium in the twelfth century, see D. Knowles, "The Monastic Horarium," Downside Review, LI (1933) 706-725. A vigorous defense of Cluniac ritualism was made by the Cardinal legate, Matthew of Albano, in a document edited by Dom W. Berlière, Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique (Maredsous, 1894), pp. 92-94.

2084. Tussis anhela: Verg. Geor. 3. 497.

2085. Cf. Consuetudines Cluniacenses, col. 706.

2086. I.e., at the daily chapter of faults.

2087. Greases were a familiar feature of the Cluniac diet. See de Valous, Le Monachisme Clunisien, p. 264. There is no positive evidence that the Cluniacs ate meat, but some breakdown of the rule in this regard must have occurred, for Peter the Venerable vigorously enforced it. Cf. PL, CLXXXIX, col. 419, and Statuta Cluniacensia 12, col. 1029.

2089. Pellicias, sc., tunicas. Two pelisses made of lamb- or sheep-skin and extending to the feet were supplied for winter wear and for traveling. Cf. Albers, Consuetudines, I, p. 180; II, p. 56; III, p. 143. The suggestion here is that the Cluniacs wore expensive garments, a charge originally made by St. Bernard in his letter to William de St. Thierry, PL, CLXXXII, cols. 912-913. Peter the Venerable replied to this charge in his letter to Bernard, PL, CLXXXIX, cols. 137-141. Articles 16 and 17 (ibid., cols. 1030-1031) of his reforming Statuta forbid expensive clothing.

2093-2094. On ordinary days, speech was allowed for half an hour after the morning chapter and for a quarter of an hour after Sext. See de Valous, Le Monachisme Clunisien, p. 79; Albers, Consuetudines, I, pp. 154-155, III, pp. 14, 17; and Consuetudines Cluniacenses, PL, CXLIX, col. 703.

2095-2096. For an offence of this kind, the culprit was chastened with rods and incarcerated alone until full pardon was granted. Cf. Consuetudines Cluniacenses, cols. 735-736.

2097. Nisi: for non nisi.

2103. Cf. M. Marrier, Bibliotheca Cluniacensis (Paris, 1614), cols. 1366, 1448, 1474, 1478.

2105. Cella refers to a grange or priory, not to a room of a monastery, as in l. 2233.

Damno dedecorique: Hor. Sat. 1. 2. 52-53.

2107. Nebula: "trouble" or "vexation." Cf. Gerald of Wales, De Vita Galfridi Archiepiscopi Eboracensis 1. 9., in Opera, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1873).

2111-2182. The Cistercian Order originated at Cîteaux in Burgundy in 1098. In the course of its rapid expansion during the twelfth century, it forgot its original ideal of poverty and acquired vast holdings of land and riches from the proceeds of sheep farming. There is evidence of its absorption of whole villages and its appropriation of parish churches with their emoluments. Such was the extent of its wealth that in 1193 as well as in 1194 the English branch of the Cistercian Order was assessed a year's wool as its contribution toward the ransom of King Richard the First; the contribution being valued at £48,500. It is significant that the Cistercian annual chapters of 1191, 1215, and 1216 recognized a widespread breach of the Rule among its members in this regard. The evidence is set forth in the following studies:

U. Berlière, L'Ordre monastique des origines aux XII^e siècle (Paris, 1912), pp. 268-270; G. Schreiber, Kurie und Kloster im 12. Jahrhundert, II (Stuttgart, 1910), pp. 256-258; J.-B. Mahn, L'Ordre cistercien et son gouvernement des origines au milieu du XIII^e siècle, 1098-1265 (Paris, 1945), *passim*; H. D'Arbois de Jubainville and L. Piqueotté, Études sur l'état intérieur des abbayes cisterciennes et principalement de Clairvaux au XII^e et XIII^e siècles (Paris, 1858), pp. 279, 293-295; R. J. Whitewell, "English Monasteries and the Wool Trade in the Thirteenth Century," Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, II (1904) 1-33; T. A. M. Bishop, "Monastic Granges in Yorkshire," English Historical Review, LI (1936), 193-214; Canivez, Statuta, s.v., 1191, 1215, 1216; J. F. O'Sullivan, Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1140-1540 (New York, 1947), pp. 5, 11-15, 46; F. A. Mullin, A History of the Works of the Cistercians in Yorkshire, 1131-1300 (Washington, 1932); Poole, pp. 187-188; H. E. Wroot, "Yorkshire Abbeys and the Wool Trade," Thoresby Society Publications, XXXIII (1935), 1-21. Latin satirists of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, among them, Gerald of Wales, Speculum Ecclesiae 2. 34 and 3. 1, 2, 5, 8, 12, Map 1. 24-25, and Guiot de Provins, Bible 1187-1326, charged the Cistercians with inexhaustible greed and avarice. Similar criticisms appear in the Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes, pp. 237, 243, and 254.

2111. Generalia: ordinary dishes made of fish, cheese, or eggs.

2112. Pulmenta: extra or special dishes. The Cistercian rule returning to RSB 39, prescribed only two cooked dishes, a pound of bread, and fruit in season. Cf. Canivez, Statuta, I, s.v., 1134, 1157; Usus Antiquiores Ordinis Cisterciensis, PL, CLXVI, col. 1543.

2127. The Statutes of the Order expressly forbade the eating of flesh meat except for the infirm. See Statuta, s.v., 1134, and 1157.

2129. It was a matter of dispute among medieval theologians whether the prohibition in RSB 39 of the "flesh of four-footed animals" also excluded other sorts of flesh such as fowls. Cf. Martène's Commentarium RSB, PL, LXI, cols. 733-740; G. Berthelet, Traité historique et morale de l'abstinence de la viande (Rouen, 1731), pt. 3, chaps. 1-2.

2136. The reference is to the discovery of the severed head of St. Edmund, which cried "Here, here, here!" to those who searched for it. Cf. J. R. Thompson, Records of St. Edmund of East Anglia, King and Martyr (London, 1890), p. 30.

2137-2157. The same gibe at the Cistercians appears in Gerald of Wales, Speculum Ecclesiae 2. 34, Map 1. 25, and the Poems Attributed to Walter Mapes, pp. 243 and 256.

2151. Cf. Matt. 16:6: Qui autem scandalazaverit unum de

pusillis istis, qui in me credunt, expedit ei ut suspendatur mola asinaria in collo ejus ut demergatur in profundum maris.

2157. Tob. 4:16. For other forms of the proverb, see Springer, III, p. 82.

2160. Cf. De Vita Monachorum, Wright, II, p. 200: Non sine re monachi nomen inane gerunt.

2163. 2. Cor. 11:26.

2180. An adaptation of Ov. Tr. 1. 3. 52: vel quo festinas ire, vel unde, vide.

2183-2226. The Order of Grandmont was founded about 1076 in the diocese of Limoges by Stephen of Tournai who divided the monks into clerks and laybrethren. The clerks were released from temporal cares to devote their full attention to spiritual matters, while the laybrethren were given complete charge of the finances and the secular administration of the house. Despite its austerity, the order grew rapidly, and, by the end of the twelfth century, numbered over one hundred and forty houses in France. On the history of the Grandmontines, see R. Graham, St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines (London, 1901), pp. 209-246, with its attendant bibliography.

2185-2186. The Grandmontines renounced all wealth and property. Cf. Hugh de la Certe, Regula Sancti Stephani, PL, CCIV, cols. 1140-1146.

2185. Cf. 2 Cor. 6:10: tamquam nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes.

2186. Cf. Pers. 3. 84: De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti.

2187. Solitude was a leading feature of the Grandmontine life. Both Map. 1. 26 and John of Salisbury Policrat. 7. 23 remark that only kings, or persons of high station, were admitted within the monastery.

Abdita claustra: Sextus Amarcus, Sermones 1. 156.

Nulla silentia servant may be satirical. The Grandmontines kept very strict silence. Cf. Regula Stephani, col. 1154.

2189-2194. Cf. Regula Stephani, cols. 1141-1143.

2195-2196. Ibid., cols. 1158-1159.

2198. Non mihi scire licet: an echo of Ov. Her. 1. 57-58: nec scire mihi . . . licet.

2210. Rom. 14:4.

2211-2222. In 1185, a bitter dispute for supremacy broke out between the clerks and laybrethren. The quarrel was referred to the Papacy, who, after three years of procrastination, finally handed down a decision that made concessions to both sides. For a detailed account of the controversy and the satirical literature it inspired, see W. Meyer, "De scismate Grandimontanorum," Göttingen Nachrichten, II (1906), 49-100. Nigel's exasperation at the inordinate amount of time and money which had already been spent in litigating their differences points to a date of composition for this passage sometime in 1187 or 1188.

2211-2212. The original intention of the Rule (q.v., col. 1150) was to avoid all involvement in legal actions.

2212. Cf. Avian, 15. 4: magnaue de facili iurgia lite trahunt.

2214. If taken literally, the date would be 1200. Trilustralis, however, is hyperbolic. L. 2200 makes it clear that the case had not yet been settled.

2220. Map, 1. 26 makes a similar remark, implying that further bribery would be necessary before the Roman Curia handed down a decision.

2221. Cf. the description of the bleakness of Grandmont in the Commentary of Gerald Itier (Prior 1188) on St. Stephen of Lisieux's Sententiae quoted by B. Hauréau, "Sur quelques écrits de l'ordre de Grandmont, d'après le no. 17187 de la Bibliothèque Nationale," Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale, XXIV (1876) pt. 2, p. 255.

2227. The Carthusian Order, founded about 1084 by St. Bruno of Cologne, took its name from La Chartreuse near Grenoble.

2228. Cf. Guigonis I Carthusiae Majoris Prioris V. Consuetudines, PL, CLIII, cols. 693-694: Ad vestitum autem duo cilicia, duas tunicas, duas pellicias, unam deteriorem, alteram meliorem, duasque similiter cucullas, tria paria caligarum, paria pedulium quattuor, pelles, cappam, sotulores nocturnos et diurnos, sagimen quoque ad unquendum, lumbaria duo, cingulum, omnia canabina et grossa, et quoquid prorsus ad lectum vestitumve pertinet, cujus grossitudinis coloris ne sit non curabit; and E. M. Thompson, The Carthusian Order in England (London, 1930), p. 34.

2233-2234. The Carthusian cell at this time was divided into compartments for sleeping, eating, and praying. Cf. ibid., p. 33.

2235-2236. The monks prepared their own meals in their cells. Ibid., p. 34, and Map, 1. 16.

2238-2239. Possibly a reference to the "tort." Cf. Thompson, The Carthusian Order, p. 38: "After vespers in church came supper, for on Sundays and festivals the monks had two meals. After supper, having received a 'tort,' [a small cake, or a roll of bread] as a pious reminder that they were 'Christ's beggars,' they sought their cells to end their day with compline there."

2241-2242. Cf. Map 1. 16.

2243-2244. Cf. Consuetudines, col. 705: . . . secunda, quarta, sexta feria, pane et aqua et sale . . . contenti sumus; Thompson, The Carthusian Order, pp. 38-39.

2245-2246. Cf. Consuetudines, col. 659, where Prior Guigo excuses the rarity of masses at La Chartreuse by the especial zeal of the solitaries for silence and solitude.

2249-2250. Cf. Magistri Lamberti domus Squillacensis prioris Statuta, PL, CLIII, col. 1130: Decretum est etiam, ut si quis praescriptum animalium numerum excesserit, ex decreto capiti tuli, quod superfuerit, pauperibus erogetur.

2251-2252. Cf. Thompson, The Carthusian Order, pp. 103-107. Miss Thompson points out that the Carthusians forbade meat even to the ill and were severely criticized throughout the Middle Ages for their exaggerated asceticism in this regard.

2253. Litem lite resolvable: Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 103.

2255-2256. Cf. Consuetudines, col. 711; Thompson, The Carthusian Order, p. 26.

2257-2286. The Austin Canons grew out of the Gregorian Reform of the eleventh century. They were in holy orders, lived a full common life, and followed the so-called Rule of St. Augustine. For a full account of their origin in England, see J. C. Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England (London, 1950). They were held in high esteem by contemporary writers for what Dickinson (p. 175) has called their "spirit of judicious moderation." Cf. Anselm of Haverberg, Epistola Apologetica, PL, CLXXXVIII, cols. 1119-1140; Arno of Reichersberg, Liber de Ordine Canonicorum, PL, CLXXXVIII, cols. 1039-1139; Peter Comestor, Sermones, PL, XCVIII, cols. 1790-1791 and 1795. The canons wore a black cape that was regarded as their distinguishing mark and gave them the title of Black Canons (Dickinson, The Austin Canons, p. 185).

2259. The canons, unlike monks, wore linen instead of woolen clothing. For their defense of their choice of attire, see ibid., p. 184.

2259-2260. "The Rule of St. Augustine gave no very precise guidance on this point [the use of meat]. Its followers were to 'subdue your flesh with fats and abstinence from food and drink as health permits', an injunction which, as Ponce of St. Ruf pointed out, clearly did not envision complete abstinence for all. Rupert of Deutz was probably right in asserting that for regular canons to abstain completely from flesh meat was a departure from their earlier practice. . . . The secular canons of the Dark Ages had eaten meat, for this was not forbidden them by the canons, a point which the Aachen Statutes had confirmed. Ponce, indeed, argued well in favour of moderate use of meat and wine. . . . Gregory VII's regulations hereon permit the eating of meat 3 or 4 days a week and some use of fats at other times. The Beauvais customs were uncompromisingly antivegetarian . . . stressing the necessity to realise that fault "lay not in tasting but in desire, not in food but in greed." . . . At San Felice . . . flesh was eaten on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, and Gerald of Wales notes that regular canons could eat flesh 3 times a week, agreeing with James of Vitry who noted that regular canons ate meat '3 days in a week; on the other days they eat fish, eggs and cheese in the refectory'." Ibid., pp. 181-182.

2265. Cato 2. 21. 2.

2267-2268. "Nigel appears to have had thoroughly modern Western ideas on the length of church services, and found it

amongst the great merits of the regular canons that their offices were comparatively short and simple. Unlike the monks, the canons had but 9 lessons at Matins." *Ibid.*, p. 185. See Knowles' comparative table of the horarium and liturgy of principal monastic orders, including the canons, mentioned in the note to l. 2079; and E. Martène, De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus, III (Antwerp, 1764), 252-254.

2272. Mundis munda: Tit. 1:15.

2283-2286. An echo of Sextus Amarcus, Sermones, 3. 6. 746-747: Esto. Sed interius si non vult candidus esse / Extra nigredo nil confert, credite nobis.

2287-2314. The Premonstratensians, an order of regular canons founded at Prémontré near Laon in 1120 by St. Norbert of Xanten (c. 1080-1134), were organized to combine a monastic life of extreme poverty with apostolic work. Their chief significance in monastic history is as a link between the orders of monks and friars.

2287-2292. The robes of the Premonstratensians were white, in imitation of the angels of the Resurrection who were said by the fathers to be precursors of the canons, and made of wool as a symbol of penitence. Cf. Vita Norberti, PL, CLXX, cols. 1294, 1793, and R. P. F. Petit, La Spiritualité des Prémontrés aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles (Paris, 1947), pp. 37-38, 213-219, 262.

2299-2314. I have not seen this charge repeated elsewhere. The use of meat fats was explicitly prohibited by the Premonstratensian statutes, and there is no evidence of violation in the matter. Cf. Les Statutes des Prémontrés, ed. P. J. Lefevre (Louvain, 1946), p. 21: Praeterea infra monasteria nostri ordinis pulmenta semper sine carne et sagimine parentur pro sanis. . . .

2315-2370. The Secular Canons were priests attached to a cathedral or large church and organized into a group or college. They followed no clear or definite rule, but rather a loose collection of provisions varying greatly from chapter to chapter and deriving ultimately from the Rule of Chrodegang as revised and enlarged at the Council of Aachen in 816. On this subject, see K. Edwards, The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages (Manchester, 1949), pp. 1-22, and Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, ed. M. Gibbs (London, 1939), pp. xvi-xx. Nigel's savage invective against the Secular Canons is unparalleled in contemporary satire.

2321-2324. The same charge is brought against the Secular Canons by John of Salisbury, Policrat. 7. 23. Brooke, "Gregorian Reform," 18, is inclined to discount it, at least for the last half of the twelfth century.

2351-2352. Cf. Godfrey of Winchester, Epigrammata, Wright, II, p. 127, l. 4: Jungari labenti, labitur ille, cadis.

2353. Cf. John of Salisbury, Ep. 192, PL, CXCIX, col. 205:

Loquantur interim quae voluerint, jactitent se adversus Christum Domini praevaluisse in vanitate sua, perduto eorum astat, pro foribus, quorum gaudium est ad instar puncti, et gloria ignis, stercus et vermis.

2359. An echo of Dan. 3:6: in fornacem ignis ardentis.

2363. I Pet. 1:7: Ut probatio vestrae fidei, multo pretiosior auro quod per ignem probatur, inveniatur in laudem, et gloriam, et honorem, in revelatione Jesu Christi.

2369. Cf. Hor. A. P. 163: Cereus in vitium flecti.

2371-2400. This is the first satire on nuns in the literature of England. The charges brought against them—quarrelsomeness, vanity, and sexual immorality—reflect in their tone, phraseology, and content the tiresome antifeminist exercises to which nearly all medieval satirists turned their hands. On this literature, see F. E. Utley, The Crooked Rib (Columbus, 1944) and M. Borodine, La Femme et l'amour au XII^e siècle (Paris, 1909).

2373. Cf. E. Power, Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1250-1535 (Cambridge, 1922), p. 237.

2380. Susanna smigmat: cf. Dan. 13:17: Afferte mihi olerum, et smigmata, et ostia pomarii claudite, ut laver.

2385. Cf. Power, English Nunneries, p. 587, quoting from Eudes Rigaud: "Quod comam non nutriatis ultra aures."

2389-2390. Ibid., plate III, opp. p. 144.

2391. I am unable to verify this remark.

2392-2394. Cf. Power, English Nunneries, pp. 297-303, 581-585, for numerous instances of bickering and discord in nunneries.

2395-2400. Ibid., pp. 436-474, for the evidence relating to the incontinence of nuns in English houses. Most of it, however, postdates the period of the SS. Nigel may have had in mind here the notorious affair of the expulsion of the nuns of Amesbury and their replacement by the nuns of Fontevrault in 1177. The abbess of the former was reputed to have borne three children and the nuns in general to have led immoral lives. Cf. Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, ed. W. Stubbs, I (London, 1867) 135-136.

2401. The Gilbertine Order was founded in the twelfth century by St. Gilbert of Sempringham. It was composed of canons and nuns, laybrothers and laysisters.

2411. Cf. W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, VI (London, 1838), 955, and R. Graham, St. Gilbert of Sempringham, pp. 94-95: "A partition wall divided the church throughout its entire length from East to West; at the Yorkshire house at Wotton it was nearly 5 feet thick. . . . The wall was high enough to prevent men and women from seeing each other, but it did not reach to the roof, that the women might hear High Mass . . . and the sermon preached on feast days."

2412. Cf. ibid., p. 74: "The rule forbade all music, the organ and every kind of chant; the nuns might not sing, 'for we will

that like the Blessed Virgin they shall sing the psalms in monotone in the spirit of humility, rather than pervert the minds of the weak like the daughter of Herodias'." Directe: i.e., they sang a fifth above the Gregorian Chant. Cf. O. Strunk, Source Readings in Music History (New York, 1956), p. 108.

2413. Tacitus considerat: Gen. 17:11.

2429. Quod multa loquuntur: Cato 2. 20. 2.

2437-2444. Curtius, Europäische Literatur, p. 131, mistakenly concludes from these lines that Nigel approved of clerical marriage.

2491-2492. A conflation of Psa. 68:3: sicut fluit cera a facie ignis, and Sap. 2. 3: et sicut nebula dissolvitur quae fugata est a radiis solis.

2495-2558. The venality of the Papal Curia was the most popular and universal theme of contemporary satire. There is no comprehensive study or bibliography of the vast literature on this subject, but a useful preliminary survey has been made by Lehmann, Die Parodie, pp. 43-91, and Raby, II, pp. 45-54, 89-102, 171-235, and 256-264. For the de facto financial position of the medieval papacy and its unscrupulous and excessive exactions of money to bolster its economy, see W. E. Lunt, Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages (New York, 1934), 2 vols., and Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327 (Cambridge, 1939).

2497. Regnantum diadema: Isa. 62:3.

2498. Decus et decor: cf. Walter of Châtillon, Carm. 16. 15. 1: O decus et demonum decor, Antichriste; and Baudri de Bourgueil, ed. P. Abrahams, Carm. 233. 10 (Paris, 1926): Altera res decus est et decor alterius.

2500. The hammer was a popular metaphor in medieval literature. Cf. R. Arbesmann, "The Malleus Metaphor in Medieval Characterization," Traditio, III (1945), 389-392.

2501. Oleum pietatis: Heb. 1:9.

2502. Larga manus: I Mac. 3:30.

Dextra referta bonis: Psa. 25:10.

2508. Cf. Walter of Châtillon, Carm. 2. 3. 1: Vidi vidi caput [Romam] mundi; Henry of Sett. Eleg. 3. 199: Ipsa caput mundi, venalis curia papae; CB 42. 13: Roma mundi caput est.

2510. Another form of the popular proverb in l. 20: in caudam vertitur omne caput.

2511. For a similar word plays, see Lehmann, Parodie, pp. 76-81; Walter of Châtillon, Carm. 10. 5; and CB 3 and 10.

2516. Locum unde: "reason."

2524. Linit: "defile."

2527. Cf. Walter of Châtillon, Carm. 2. 3, for a similar use of the sea metaphor in connection with the avarice of the Roman Curia. It goes back to Job. 40:18: Ecce absorbebit fluvium, et non mirabitur; et habet fiducium quod influet Jordan in os ejus.

2534. Cf. Ysengr. l. 495: Peius agit, qui plura potest, luit omnia pauper.

Quicquid delirant: Hor. Ep. l. 2. 14.

2535. Cf. CB 41. 91: Nos [nummi] peccata relaxamus.

2543. Cf. Fec. Rat. l. 766: Et capite infirmo tabescunt cetera membra; Henry of Sett. Eleg. 7. 200: prostat et infirmat caetera caput; Flores Historiarum, ed. H. C. Luard, I (London, 1890), 256: Cui caput infirmum, caetera membra dolent; Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 152: Si caput agrotat, cetera membra caput; Werner D 152: Dum caput egrotat, dolor omnia membra molestat; CB 42. 11: Membra dolent singula capitis dolore, and Singer, II, p. 104-105, III, p. 148.

2545. Cf. Fec. Rat. l. 62: Morbus ovem, quae sola, gregem mox inquinat omnem; Juv. 2. 79-80: sicut grex totus in agris / Unius scabie cadit et porrigine porci; RSB 28: ne una ovis morbida omnem gregem contagit; St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 325, PL, CLXXXII, col. 530: Ne una ovis morbida totum gregem contaminet.

2550. Origo: for id quod oritur.

2556. Cf. Alcuin, Ep. 132, p. 199: Nec audiendi qui solent dicere: 'Vox populi, vox dei.'

2557-2558. Isa. 1:6.

2563-2576. Complaints against the severity of the forest laws are common among English writers of the period. Cf. John of Salisbury, Policrat. l. 4, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britanniae l. 12 and 7. 3, William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum 4. 319, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1889) and Richard of Hexham, Gesta Stephani, ed. R. Howlett (London, 1886), pp. 144, 149. The forests of England were from the time of the Conqueror the personal property of the king and independent of the common law of the realm. Hunting rights were strictly controlled with a view to preserving in abundance the wild beasts for the king's sport. A violation of the forestry law was regarded as so serious a misdemeanor that the offender was liable to lose his life or to be mutilated and fined. Although no actual example of the exaction of capital punishment has come down to us, its existence is amply confirmed by the protests of historians and literary figures alike. The Assize of Henry II touching the forest prescribed milder punishments than those of his predecessors, but foresters were not secure in life and limb until the Charter of the Forest of 1217. On this subject, see D. Stenton, English Society in the Early Middle Ages, pp. 97-119; Poole, pp. 29-35; F. Liebermann, Über Pseudo-Cnuts Constitutiones de Foresta (Halle, 1894); The Select Pleas of the Forest 10, ed. G. L. Turner (London, 1899); W. Stubbs, The Constitutional History of England, I (Oxford, 1891), 314, 328, 348, 414, 434-438; C. Petit-Dutaillis, Studies Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History,

II (Manchester, 1914), 169-192; and J. S. P. Tatlock, The Legendary History of Britain (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950), pp. 358-359.

2563-2564. Gen. 1:27.

2569-2570. A reference to Phalaris. Cf. Ov. Trist. 3. 11. 39-54, Ars Am. 1. 653-654, and Ibis 439.

2571. Remex: "steersman," met., "governor."

2583-2584. Psa. 25:10.

2585. Munus with the implication of bribery is biblical, not classical. Cf. Psa. 14:5: Qui pecuniam suam non dedit ad usum, et munera super innocentiam non accepit, and Isa. 1:23: Omnes diligunt munera, sequuntur retributiones.

2585-2650. For other examples of the "Sir Penny" theme in the Latin literature of the period, see Walter of Châtillon, Carm. 1, 4, 8, 10; CB 11; Werner I 35: Marbod, Quomodo servitur nummo, PL, CLXXI, cols. 1727-1728; Thierry de Saint Trond, Ver sus de Nummo, printed erroneously among the works of Hilbert of Le Mans, PL, CLXXI, cols. 1402-1406; Miles Gloriosus 81-90; William of Blois, Alda 211-234, ed. M. Wintzweiler, in G. Cohen, La "Comédie" Latine; Tractatus Garsiae Toletani, ed. E. Duemmler, MGH, Libelli de Lite, II (Hanover, 1891), pp. 424-440.

2597. Cf. Miles Gloriosus 82: Nummus ubi loquitur, Tullius ipse silet; Werner I 35: Versus de nummo per omnes casus; Joseph of Exeter, De Bello Troiano 3. 251-252: Cicerone secundo non opus est ubi fantur / Opes; Alan. de Insul. Planct. Nat., Wright, II, p. 488: Ubi nummus loquitur, Tulliani eloquii tuba rauscescit; CB 42. 31-32: Tullium ne timeas, si velit causari: / Nummus eloquentia gaudet singulari.

2609. Dulce malum: Ov. Am. 2. 9. 26.

2614. Data pensa trahuntur: Ov. Met. 13. 511.

2616. Excaecant oculos: Deut. 16:19.

2617. Cf. Miles Gloriosus 71: Me tibi vinxit amor, et tibi vinciat aurum.

Omnia vincit amor: Verg. Ecl. 10. 69.

2624. For apices meaning "crowns" or "triumphs," cf. Hor. Od. 1. 34. 14: hinc apicem rapax.

2634. Forum: "market price" (Fr. bon marché). Cf. Lidia 119: Femina vile forum de se facit.

2637. Revocatus ab aula: Lucan 10. 504.

2646. Apoc. 21:4.

2651. Populus sine lege: Ps.-Cyprian, De XII abusivis seculi 11.1, ed. S. Hellmann (Leipzig, 1910), p. 34.

2652. Pronus in omne nefas: Lucan 6. 147.

2659. Regis ad exemplum: Claud. IV Cons. Hon. 299-300.

2660. The meaning is that the people follow the king's example as the hindfeet follow the forefeet. Verrex means "wether," but often stands for blockhead (cf. Juv. 10. 50: vervecum in patra crassoque sub aere nasci).

2662. Cf. 2 Pet. 2:20: facta sunt eis posteriora deteriora prioribus.

2663. Cf. Walter of Châtillon, Carm. 18. 17-18: Dum non habet redemptorem / nec qui saluum faciat.

2671-2674. An adaption of Matt. 7:15: Attendite a falsis prophetis qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces, and 24:24: Surgent enim pseudo-christi, et pseudo-prophetae, et dabunt signa magna, et prodigia ita est in errorem indicantur (si fieri potest) etiam electi.

2675-2676. Ezek. 34:2: Fili hominis, propheta de pastoribus Israel; propheta, et dices pastoribus: Haec dicit Dominus Deus: Vae pastoribus Israel, qui pascebant semetipsos: Nonne greges a pastoribus. Satirists and moralists made much of these lines in speaking of simoniac shepherds. Cf. Walter of Châtillon, Carm. 8. 12: Sic pascunt, ut ipsimet potius pascantur; Apocalypsis Goliiae 33: Non pastor ovium, sed pastus ovibus; Hauréau, Notices et Extraits, III, p. 87: Magna perversitas est si pastor, sed lupus, pp. 119-120: Pastor dicitur a pascendo; ideo prelati ecclesiae dicuntur pastores quia debent subditos pascere. . . . Hodie prelati dicuntur pastores non quia pascunt subditos, nisi sicut ovis pascit herbam quam devorat et corrodit; sic ipsi faciunt de bonis subditorum; ipsi dicuntur pastores qui pascunt seipsos, non subditos, and p. 299: Cum non pescant, sed pascantur non a pasco derivantur sed a pascor, pasceris.

2681. Cf. John 10:12: Mercenarium autem, et qui non est pastor. . . .

2717-2746. On the luxurious lives of twelfth-century bishops attended by hosts of retainers and servants, see Poole, pp. 167-231; Knowles, pp. 286-298, 313-330, 387-391; idem, Episcopal Colleagues, passim; and R. Foreville, La Royauté en Angleterre sous Henri II Plantagenet (Paris, 1943), passim.

2732. The Council of Westminster, May 18, 1175, forbade the use of tin chalices. Cf. Gerald of Wales, Gemma Ecclesiastica 2. 36, and Tractatus, pp. 156-157.

2737. Ov. Met. 2. 1.

2737-2738. The increasing magnificence of episcopal palaces in the twelfth century, reflecting the transformation of domestic architecture along less military and more personal lines, evoked a series of protests from preachers and reformers, among them St. Bernard, Hugh of Fouilli, Peter Cantor, Adam of Perseigne, and Guy de Bazoches. The entire literature on the subject has been collected and studied by V. Mortet, "Hugue de Fouilloi, Pierre le Chantre, Alexander Neckam et les critiques dirigés au XII^e siècle contre le luxe des constructions," in Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont (Paris, 1913), pp. 105-137.

2743. A familiar medieval play on the names of the evangelists. Cf. Lehmann, Parodie, pp. 59-61, and Parodistische Texte, pp. 7-12.

2747-2748. The bestowal of ecclesiastical offices upon children in the twelfth century was a serious abuse that the Third Lateran Council (canon 3) endeavored to correct: *Praesenti de creto statuimus, ut nullus in episcopum eligatur, nisi qui jam trigesimum aetatis annum egerit. . . . Inferiora etiam ministeria utpote decanatus, archidiaconatus et alia, quae animarum curam habent annexam, nullus omnino suscipiat, sed nec parochialium ecclesiarum regimen, nisi qui jam vigesimum quintum aetatis annum attigerit, et qui scientia et moribus existat commendandus.* For the many children of the period inducted into livings and bishoprics, see William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* 3. 5; A. Fliche, "Premiers Résultats d'une Enquête sur la Réforme Grégorienne dans les Diocèses Français," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris, 1944) 162-180; G. Besse, *Histoire des Ducs, Marquis et Comtes de Narbonne* (Paris, 1660), pp. 2412; Moorman, *Church Life*, pp. 6-7; Stubbs, *Historical Introduction*, p. 44; St. Bernard, *De Consideratione* 4. 4; *idem*, *Tractatus de moribus et officio episcoporum*, *PL*, CLXXXII, col. 826; Alexander II, *Ep.* 13, *PL*, CC, col. 83; *Curia Regis* Rolls, III (London, 1926), pp. 118-119; W. H. Bliss, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, I (London, 1893), 2, 5, 22-23, etc; and *The Owl and the Nightingale* 1775-1776, ed. J. W. H. Atkins (Cambridge, 1922).

2753. *Robekinus* and *Wileminus* are English diminutives.

2789-2814. For the official ecclesiastical attitude toward hunting by the clergy from the Church fathers to the late medieval canonists—an attitude of strong disapproval arising from Biblical strictures against hunters, e.g., Nimrod and Esau—see G. de Genouillac, *L'Eglise et la chasse* (Paris, 1886), and R. Willard, "Chaucer's 'Text That Seith That Hunters Ben Nat Hooly Men,'" *University of Texas Studies in English* (Austin, 1947) 209-251.

2795. *Loca sancta*: probably monasteries (as in l. 3197). Cf. *Babio* 471: *ferar ad loca sancta*.

2819-2820. Prov. 26:11 and 2 Peter 2:22.

Sorbentque quod vomuerunt: Serlo, *Invectio in Monachos* 20, *Wright*, II, p. 203.

2823-2824. I.e., whether the dignitaries are Benedictines, Cistercians, or Austin Canons.

2829-2830. Gen. 27:22. Jacob and Esau typified good and evil to patristic and medieval commentators. See F. Chatillon's edition of Galand de Rigny, *Libellus Proverbiorum*, *Revue du Moyen Age Latin*, VIII (1952), 48, no. 16 and n. 8, for a full list of authorities.

2859-2868. The point of this comparison lies in the apparent harmlessness of the animals.

2872. Walter of Châtillon, *Carm.* 1. 16-18, shared the same fear: *quod si reprehendam / et eis non condescendam, / bella michi video.*

2894. Tutus ab hoste: Ov. Her. 11. 44.

2899. Cf. Ov. Her. 11. 3: dextra tenet calamum, strictum tenet altera ferrum.

2921-2922. On the origin of this motif, employed by Nigel as means of varying the satire, see M. Bloomfield, "On Overhearing As A Motif of Hindu Fiction," American Journal of Philology, XLI (1920), 309-335. Bloomfield (pp. 209-210) writes: "The motif is for the most part progressive. Rarely is a story designed around overhearing; the motif enters when there is a hitch, a point where the hearer of the story is perplexed as to what will come next, meaning, how will the narrator extricate himself, or save the situation. Just at that point the principal person, or his aid and confidant will overhear to his advantage. The story usually has come to an impasse; the motif releases the stand-still."

2923-3232. The three birds are depicted in accordance with traditional folk legends about them. On the longevity and loquacity of the raven, see Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae 12. 7, PL, LXXXII, col. 466; Alexander Nequam, De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae, ed. T. Wright (London, 1863), p. 385; Map 1. 1; Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, VIII (1893), 5-6; C. Swainson, Provincial Names and Folk Lore of British Birds (London, 1886), p. 88; P. Kretschner, Neugriechische Märchen (Jena, 1919), pp. 81-84; O. Keller, Die antike Tierwelt, II (Leipzig, 1913), 105. To Hebrews, Christians, and pagans alike, it was a symbol of treachery. Hebrew myth claimed that it was originally white and beautiful, but was later turned black for its impiety in not returning to Noah's ark when it failed to find dry land. The legend arose from Gen. 8:6-7 and Isa. 34:11. A later version, followed by Nigel (SS 3100), ascribed the raven's failure to return to Noah to the fact that it spent its time feasting on cadavers. Cf. Dähnhardt, Natursagen, I (1907), 284; Kohler, Kleinere Schriften, ed. J. Bolte, I (London, 1888) 3; Grimm., Deutsches Wörterbuch, II (1860), 559; Alexander Nequam, De Naturis Rerum, p. 111. According to pagan tradition, it was similarly punished for its betrayal of the love of Apollo and Coronis (Ov. Met. 2. 531-633). Christians made the bird a type of religious apostasy. Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum, PL, CLXXV, col. 643, and Nequam, De Naturis Rerum, p. 111. The portrait of the cock is also in keeping with Christian animal symbolism. Ambrose, Aet. Rer. Cond. 17-24, and Prud., Cath. 1. 1-100, compare it with Christ who wakes us to life. Augustine, Enarr. in Psalm. 118, PL, XXXVII, col. 1587, marks its vigilance through the night even as God's love watches over mankind. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae 5. 30, PL, LXXXII, col. 215, and Honorius of Autun, Gemma Animae, PL, CLXXII, col. 589, speak of its services as the harbinger of day, services especially welcome to priests who must say mass, while Sicard, Mitræ, PL, CCXIII, col. 24, notes that it rouses monks to the performance of their nocturnal offices. Ev-

everywhere it is the emblem of constancy and devotion. On the eagle as a royal bird with its usual attributes of dignity, nobility, and independence, see the Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, ed. M. Leach, I (New York, 1949), 332-333, and E. Hoffmann-Krayer, Volkskundliche Bibliographie, I (Berlin, 1917), 174-189.

2924. Pauca loquar: Verg. Aen. 4. 337.

2927-2928. Psa. 110:10.

2946. Cf. Werner C 93: Contingit fieri non hodie quod heri.

2953-2954. Iniquum nil ego commissi: an echo of Ov. Tr. 4. 9: nil ego peccavi.

2956. Camum: a rare word meaning "beer." TLL, III, col.

222, cites only three instances of its use: Ulp. Dig. 36. 6. 9, Dio clet. Ed. 2. 11, Dioscor. 2. 70.

2985. Quassatum calamum: Isa. 42:3.

3004. Lingua fuit damno: Ov. Met. 2. 540.

3009. Statua taciturnior: Hor. Ep. 2. 2. 83.

3041-3042. An echo of Boeth. 3. 2. 24: Sparsas pedibus proterit escas.

3042-3044. Cf. Piers the Plowman 5. 438-439, ed. W. Skeat (Oxford, 1891): For I have and have hadde some dele haukes maneres, / I nam nouzte lured with love but þere ligge auzte under þe thombe.

3055-3060. An allusion to the Tale of the Husband and the Parrot in the Arabian Nights. Cf. The Arabian Nights' Entertainment, trans. from the Arabic by E. W. Lane, I (London, 1901), 39-41.

3061. Miscent aconita: Ov. Met. 1. 147.

3099-3100. A reference to Gen. 8:6-7.

3120. Molliter ossa cubant: Ov. Her. 7. 162.

3155-3160. An adaption of Verg. Aen. 4. 24-27: Vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras, / Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam, / Ante, Pudor, quam te violi, aut tua jura resolvo, and Ov. Her. 3. 63-64: Devorer ante, precor, subito telluris hiatu / Aut rutilo missi fulminis igne cremer.

3164. Sensilis is found elsewhere only in Lucr. 2. 88: Ex in sensibilibus ne credas sensile gigni.

3178. Hunting birds were regularly kept in the bedroom. Cf. Holmes, Daily Living in the Twelfth Century, p. 232.

3179. For the Privy Parlor, see Owst, Literature and Pulpit, p. 412, and L. Abram, English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages (London, 1913), p. 175.

3185-3186. An allusion to abortion.

3189. Cf. Tatlock, Legendary History of Britain, pp. 359-560.

3193. For the therapeutic effect of sexual intercourse, see ll. 1529-1530 and note.

3237. Talia, i.e., all the reflections from 2483.

3245. Job 17:1.

3256. Deteriora sequor: Ov. Met. 7. 20.

3272. On the opposition of the rose and the nettle, see Verg. Ecl. 5. 17: Puniceis humilis quantum saliunca rosetis, and Ov. Rem. Am. 1. 46: et urticae proxima saepe rosa est.

3283-3432. For the sources of this story, see p. 4.

3295-3296. I.e., if she had been a goddess. Cf. Ov. Met. 1. 737: Haec erit: et Stygias jubet hoc audire paludes, Met. 6. 661-662: Thracius ingenti mensos clamore repellit, / Vipereasque ciet Stygia de valle sorores, Met. 3. 290-291: Stygii quoque conscia / Numina torrentis, timor et deus ille deorum; and Verg. Aen. 6. 323-324: Stygiamque paludem, / Di cujus jurare timent et fallere numen.

3297-3298. Cf. Ov. Her. 5. 56: lacrimis umet harena meis.

3299-3300. Cf. Ov. Her. 5. 73: et secui madidas ungue rigente genas, and ll. 91-92: tunc demum pectora plangi / Contingit inque meas unguibus ire genas.

3322. Cf. Werner A 136: Augmentat vicia diversa superflua gaza.

3329. Cf. Boeth. 2. 6: natura respuit ut contraria quaeque iungatur.

3336. Ov. Her. 5. 174.

3344. An echo of Ov. Met. 3. 27: vivis libandas fontibus undas.

3345. Addidit dicens: 4 Kings 4:5.

3357. Illa nihil mota: Boeth. 1. 5. 1-2.

3378. Natura potens: ibid., 3. 2.

3387-3388. Perhaps an echo of Gen. 38:21: Ubi est mulier quae sedebat in bivio?

3391. For the use of hay, see Ysengr. 5. 609 and note.

3404. I.e., the crescent-shaped space revealed on the girl's bare buttocks.

3412. Pietatis opus: Dracontius, In Laud. Dei, 2. 50.

3459. On this superstition, see E. C. Brewer, A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, rev. ed. (London, 1952), p. 653.

3467-3482. On these traditional omens of misfortune, see G. L. Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 44-45; Brewer, op. cit., p. 527; G. E. Patten, "Omens and Superstitions," Journal of Literature, Science and Art, II (1869) 140; W. R. Bullock, "The Collection of Maryland Folklore," Journal of American Folklore, II (1898) 10; N. M. Penzer, The Ocean of Story, being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Katha Sarit Sagara, III (London, 1925) pp. 46 n. 2, 86 n. 1, IV, p. 93 n. 2.

3483. The door of the Alpine inn (l. 1961).

3507-3508. Cf. Avian. 30. 1-4: Vastantem segetes et pingua culta ruentem / liquerat abscisa rusticus aure suem, / ut memor accepti referens monumenta doloris / ulterius teneris parceret ille satis.

3519-3520. Echoes of 1 Kings 3:19: et non accidit ex omnibus

verbis ejus in terram, and Ov. Her. 3. 98: at mea pro nulla ponere verba cadunt.

3542. Ferre laboris onus: Ov. Her. 19. 66.

3549-3550. Exod. 21:23.

3561-3862. For the sources of this story, see pp. 4-5.

3563. Fama frequens: Cic. De Invent. 2. 55.

3588. Dryanus apparently stems from the Gr. "δρῦς" through the later Latin "dryas" meaning "oak" and "dryinus" meaning "oaken" (cf. Souter, Glossary of Later Latin, p. 113). What Nigel meant to convey by the name is obscure; perhaps simply a powerful lord as in Anglo-Saxon "Driht" or "Dryhten." It may have been suggested to him by Ov. Met. 8. 307: Hippothoosque, Dryasque, et cretus Amyntore Phoenix—Dryas being here a sharer in the Calydonian hunt.

3649. Fame stimulante: Ov. Tr. 1. 6. 9.

3662. 'Tu Autem': "enough." For the meaning of this phrase, see A. Henry, "Le Tu Autem" and "Encore le tu autem," Bulletin du Cange, XIV (1939) 37-39, 107-111.

3663. Supremumque Vale: Ov. Met. 6. 509.

3803. St. James of Compostella and St. Thomas Becket.

3875-3876. Luke 10:7.

3877. Dum tempus postulat aut res: Cato 2. 5. 2.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Interpolation of the Later Religious Orders

The Interpolation as it appears here is mainly from G (Digby 27). I have not thought it worthwhile to offer the minor variants.

De ordine mendicantium

Sunt quoque mendice multe modo religiones
Sed priscis plures temporibus fuerant;
Sicut euangelia temptarunt scribere multi,
Sed cepit tantum quatuor ecclesia.
Sic quod mendicis mundus frustra quasi fluxit
Ad similem numerum Papa redegit eos.
Suffecere tube legi tantummodo bine,
Argentum non est omne quod amplius est.
Istorum primos Iacobinos Francia dicit,
Quod prius ecclesiam suscipiunt Iacobi.
Hic ordo primus ut predicet est stabilitus,
Ex actu tali nomen honoris habens.
Sanctus Dominicus primus fundator eorum
Est, quem sancta satis celebrat ecclesia.
Sanctus Franciscus fratres dedit inde minores,
Quamvis cordatos gallia dicat eos.
Hi quod se primis reputabant inferiores
Hoc elegerunt nomen habere sibi.
Post ambos uani surgunt Augustiniani
Et Carmelite consociantur eis,
Quos mendicandi uexat tantummodo feruor,
Spirituum cura nulla molestat eos.
Pauperibus Salomon periuria concomitari
Annuit, et constat sic aliquando fore.
Quatuor hos omnes reputo recte fugiendos,
Nam nequam uita tot uariare domos.
Plus uero querulus, plus recto semper adulans,
Que sapiens uitat sponte pericla subit.
Mendax mendicus modicum distare uidetur
Nomine, re raro dissociata sibi.
Alliciunt hec me quod in his addiscere multa
Possem, quodque michi sufficiunt modica.
Sic exercitium mentem ratione bearet,
Paupertas carni debita frena daret.
Et sic a reliquis distarem religiosus,
Quis deus est uenter, mens asinina nimis;
Qui plus acceptant Salmonem quam Salomonem,
Et multum bibere, scribere uero nichil;
Qui modicum libros, multum libras uenerantur,
Non aras sed haras, non inopes sed opes.

De ordine predicatorum uel de Iacobinis
(quod idem est)

Pre cunctis uellem Iacobinis associari.
Si non obstarent multa timenda michi.
Est mea lingua rudis, uox horrida, mens sine sensu,
Sic despectus ab his semper ineptus ero.
Nullus enim nisi qui bene predicat aut bene cantat
Aut qui consiliis preminet eximiis,
Vel tractus de gente bona uel multa reportans
Viueret cum tantis absque pudore potest.
Sub celebri ueste fatuus reputabor asellus,
Paupertatis onus non honor esse ualens.
Sed me solatur quod queuis curia partim
Per me perue meos stabit, ut acta docent.
Et trabee regis equalis erit mea uestis,
Ut me magnificet talia quisque uidens.
Hoc quoque pre cunctis que nunc occurrere possint
Allicit elinguem, quod caput ecclesie
Clausit eis ora, ne contra facta malorum
Qui male iam possunt dicere quid ualeant.
Sicque Dei uerbum iacet arta lege ligatum,
Ut non tangat ibi quo magis esset opus.
Sicque minas hominum metuens uelut opto silebo,
Ut sic terrena uiuere pace queam.
Heu tam diuitibus damnatio certa paratur,
Ut uia non pateat ulla salutis eis.

De ordine fratrum minorum

Non michi concordat cum cordis ordo minorum,
Ne concessa negans me fatuum statuam.
Si queratur ab his qui sint, quod nomen eorum,
Sum minor hoc, quisquis absque pudore feret.
Cum quo si conferre uelis, mox magnificat se
Maiolem dicens ordinibus reliquis.
Quo teneam nodo mutantem Protea uultum?
Nunc minor est et nunc maior inesse cupit.
Nunc satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa mouetur,
Et nunc Pigeus, nunc Polyphemus erit.
Hos igitur miror se uelle uocare minores,
Cum sic preferri pre reliquis studeant.
Lucifer astrorum dum despexit dominantem,
Surgere ne possit corrui in puteum.
Sic se iactantem reprobatur dominus Phariseum
Asseruit quod se dissimilem reliquis.
Sic qui se dicunt cunctis aliis meliores,
Est casus magnus plus metuendus eis.

Hec gens Franciscum se iactat habere patronum,
 Si uerum dicant ergo sequantur eum.
 Hic non in summum se trusit pontificatum.
 Nec Christi tunicam diuidit ecclesiam.
 Eius sequentes in primis regula summo
 Pape submittit ecclesieque sacre.
 Non caput ecclesie conturbavit sacer ille,
 Non intrudere se quemue suum studuit.
 In primis summo deuote pontifici se
 Ut debet subicit ecclesieque sacre.
 Es non admisit contentus tegmine solo,
 Et simplex uictus sufficebat ei.
 Regula Francisci sub precepto prohibet ne
 Es quisquam per se uel medium capiat.
 Sic mortale facit preceptum transgrediendo
 Es, quocumque modo sumere quisque uelit.
 Ergo si uita Sancti uideatur auita,
 Quis Franciscita sit modo cernis ita.
 Hoc tamen est gratum, quod semper habere paratum
 Possem congenitum de propriis habitum.
 Et placet hoc eciam quod cingit cordula corpus
 Taliter ut nodi tangere non ualeant.
 Pendet pars nodosa nimis motura uidentes,
 Cingit pars plana nil nocitura michi.
 Nunc idem pedibus nudis incedo libenter;
 Ne grauet hoc solee sufficienter agent.
 Ut pulchras dominas inflammatas michi reddam,
 Opto nudentur tibia crura femur.

De fratribus Augustinianis

Augustinensis auertatur procul ordo,
 Ex aliis totum quicquid habet capiens.
 Hi fuerant quidam deserti uasta colentes,
 Contentique satis simplicitate sua.
 Post attendentes Iacobinos atque minores
 Mundo preclaros et celebres fieri,
 Ut simul ambobus similes essent, statuere
 Ex his corruptum compositum facere,
 Ex primis tunicam sumentes cum scapulari;
 Grisea de reliquis sumpta cuculla fuit.
 Post hec cordatis similes ne desuper essent,
 A Papa precibus obtinuere suis.
 Compulsique suas denigrare cucullas;
 Sic color est alius formaque prima manet.
 Viliter in causa cum uictu taliter essent,
 Nomine sub decoris id statuere tegi,
 Capas dicentes capucia cum proprie sint,

Sicut Franciscus huius origo uocat.
 Nulla nociua magis Iacobinis gens reperitur,
 Nam dat uterque color his mala multa nimis.
 Ad loca suspecta si noctibus ire placebit,
 Exterius sumunt candida sola sibi.
 Quos si deprendi contingit, se Iacobinos
 Dicunt, hoc habitu testificante suo.
 Cumque uidere uolet uetitas solum capit album,
 Et sic in sanctos scandala multa mouet.
 In uillis patrie cum mendicant ut oportet,
 Fallitur ex nigro simplicitas populi,
 Que cinctum de non cincto discernere nescit,
 Quis manicas habeat, quis manicis careat.
 Sic persepe ferunt que debentur Iacobinis,
 Sic res, sic famam surripiendo bonis.
 A monachis albis carnes ad uota uorare,
 Dummodo delator non uideat, capiunt.
 A nigris monachis mirum hoc sumpsisse uidentur,
 Ut nusquam carnes et quasi semper edant.
 Nam tritas clausas sectasque sophisticas cunctas
 Sicque boues crassas et sine carne uorant.
 Istos mundana mundo caros tria reddunt,
 Fictio doctrine, munera magna, dapes.
 His quis fundator primus sit quisue patronus
 Estimo quod nullus dicere nouit homo.
 Nam quidam Paulum primum fingunt heremitam,
 Quidam Baptistam, quod nichil esse liquet.
 Immo nec magnus Augustinus ualet esse,
 De tribus his pariter certa probat ratio.
 Hic sancti non sic uixerunt nec statuissent
 Vitam preter eam quam uoluere sequi.
 Norman prefixit nigris monachis Benedictus,
 Iuxta quam uixit inter eos monachus.
 Sic loca Robertus fundat Cistercia sanctis,
 Dans albos monachos albus et ipse simul.
 Dominicusque suos, Franciscus uero minores
 Sic fundant ut eis nomina conueniant.
 Est satis insanus dicens Augustinianum
 Fratrem dictorum quemque fuisse trium.

De fratribus Carmelitis

Ad Carmelitas quid me de iure moueret,
 Quos constat sine re nomen habere suum?
 Hi fex et cauda cunctarum religionem,
 Qui tantum nomen religionis habent.
 Est mons Carmelus heremi quo uiuere cepit
 Gens cui diuisa cuique cauerna fuit.

His erat ecclesia de Virgine matre Maria
Quo conuenerunt quando placebat eis.
Inter eos tandem Sathanas sua semina sparsit,
Et ne concordent schismate uexat eos.
Albertus legatus eis pro lite premenda
Summi Pontificis mittitur a latere;
Qui quosdam pellit, normam certamque quibusdam
Viuendi tradit, quod remanere sinit.
Committit crimen post completoria uerbum
Dicens, preceptum transgrediendo suum.
Sed cautela iuuat post sompnum dicere, quamuis
Hoc contra mentem precipientis erat.
Post cum carpetis stragulis spernendo cauernas
Exiliunt, mures multa patrando mala.
Se tamen intitulant ex his que deseruerunt,
Que sunt mons heremus atque capella sacra.
Et Carmelitas se dicunt aut Heremitas
Aut fratres certe Virginis egregie.
Ast Albertinos melius se dicere possent,
Cuius eis solis regula sumpta manet.
Iam sua carpeta mutauerunt radiata,
Ne contemnentur, in clamides niueas.
Nunc est scarletum quod carpetum fuit ante,
Sic humilis celi gaudia pauper emit.
Cum dimiserunt heremum montemque, capellam
Et uestem primam, nomen inane gerunt.
Si Carmelite cupiunt omnino uocari,
Quid uere nomen significat uideant.
'Car' carnes comedit sed clam, 'me' mechus habetur,
'Li' nutrit lites, 'ta' sacra uerba tacet.
Heliam dicunt isti necnon Heliseum
Radicem sanctam primo fuisse suam.
Ut non degenerant circumcidantur oportet
Quos tamen abscidi plus foret expediens.
Conuenit ambobus his ac Augustinianis
Unum commune principium dubium.
Ignoratur enim quis sit fundator eorum
Quis primus frater aut heremita fuit.
Si fons ignotus necnon suspectus habetur,
Dici de riuis que bona iure queant?
Acephali ne sint aliquos signabo patronos,
Qui magis his deceant nomine reque simul.
Augustus Cesar sit primis Octonianus
Et Carmelitis impius ille Nabal.
Ad Carmelitas per se redeo michi caros,
Faman sortiri de quibus haud facile.
Cellam cum lecto diuisam quisque tenebit,
Liber cum sola solus ut esse queat.

Ad libitum carnes ibi deuorat et mala plura
Committit que nunc commemorare pudet.
Nam sunt tam sancti quod carnes tempore nullo
Tangunt preter quam quando latere putant.
Extra cum fuerint, ludos spectacula querunt
Ecclesieque sacre limina raro terunt.
His magis interne mulieres atque taberne
Et mendicare quam sacra uerba dare.
Iam sua Carmelus dispersit ubique uenena,
Et magnas urbes inficiendo replet.
Que nunc urbs aut quis uicus uel quod modo pratum
Quo non istorum luxurie pateant?
A socio licite qui uult se quisque sequestrat,
Ut uia prona malis undique detur eis.
Inter eos pugna quam paciencia uincit,
Plus uis quam uirtus, plus racione rigor.
Quamuis ludendo sim forsán falsa locutus,
Fratribus his sanctis non minus afficior.
Est unum solum quod tot mala iure repensat,
Illa quod imprime pro libito faciam.
Nulla michi culpa tantum uel fama resistet,
Ad quemcumque gradum quominus aptus ero.
Nam uelut in penis furiunt racione remota,
Sic dispensando iura sopita iacent.

APPENDIX B

Note on Some Suspected Passages of the Speculum Stultorum

Reference has been made to places in the text where absence from the a texts may be explained by scribal error. Some further passages are here considered. 1) 2555-2558, possibly an interpolation to make a more effective conclusion to the paragraph by means of the tag "uox populi uox Dei" and the familiar words from Isaiah; on the other hand, the construction "ut sit referre" is thoroughly Nigellian. 2) 3314-3319, found only in EFLI, are more likely to have been interpolated; they do not seem Nigellian, 3314 and 3317 being particularly suspicious. 3) 3642-3644, found only in BHXY, may well be genuine, if the cause of omission was confusion between immissis in 3642 and missos in 3644. 4) Of the two couplets preserved in XH only, 3785-3786 and 3812-3813, the former, if illapsus be read, seems sound enough and is required by the construction, though its omission is difficult to account for; the other is far more doubtful, and indeed, as it stands, hardly grammatical. 5) Four passages need rather fuller treatment: in 939-944 b has:

dedecus est magnum dampnum graue presul utrumque
puniet ad libitum plus tamen istud eo
presulis arbitrio decus hoc dampnumque relinquo
ipse tamen proprii uulneris ultor ero
magnus Burnellus quo sum ter consule natus
in me commissi criminis ultor erit

Here a has:

est dedecus magnum sed summus presul utrumque
puniet ad libitum criminis ultor erit.

It is difficult to say whether there is expansion or contraction here; reasons exist, however, for doubting whether any of the lines are genuine. Nigel never uses "presul" for the Pope, which casts a doubt on b's version, while the allusion by Burnellus to himself as another person and also to the "third consulship" do not seem Nigellian. The asyndeton in a, however, is unusual. The lines are unnecessary to the context in either version. Probably they are due to marginal addition, which has itself perhaps been further enlarged.

6) 1167-1174. I have kept "monstrabit signis dedecus omne meum" (a) as being more suitable to the context, since Nutibus is not appropriate to the mention of a finger, and the phrase may have been suggested by 1960, 3714. The next four lines are omit-

ted in a either through homoearchon (sicque, si de) or deliberately, perhaps because of the double meaning of cauda and the indelicate allusion of 1172; in any case the omission spoils the sense and leaves de tot uicibus without meaning.

7) 1407-1410:

nouit enim melius quam nos discrimina noctis
pars quota transierit pars quota restat adhuc
committamus ei surgentes tempora noctis
qui non dormitat sit uigil ille tuus

This is the reading of EFLBH. A different version is found in SZ:

committamus ei surgendi tempora noctis
pars quota transierit pars quota restat adhuc
hic erit innocuus qui non sibi tempora dictat
qui non dormitat sit uigil ille tuus.

For 1407-1408, a agrees with EFLBH, but omits 1409-1410. It seems as though SZ have borrowed 1408 to act as pentameter to "committamus . . . noctis" and then inserted a new hexameter. The scribe may have been misled by the double noctis, omitted nouit enim etc. and passed straight to committamus etc., then have written pars quota etc. and followed on with the new hexameter. It might be that a too may have been misled by the double noctis. Or perhaps committamus etc. was a marginal alternative to nouit enim etc., and later came into the text with a pentameter of its own. If surgendi be read, it is best followed by pars quota etc. with a comma after tempora; otherwise surgenti is a possible conjecture; but I am inclined to doubt whether anything except nouit enim . . . adhuc (as in a) are genuine. 8) 3127-3130:

belli perpetui belli quod fine carebit
quod nullus hominum pacificare potest
inter claustrales quod semper durat et oua
de lumbis nostris cepit origo prior

These lines are lacking here in a, which has after 3134:

et per quam pingues pulli procreantur et oua
de lumbis nostris cepit origo prior.

Both passages are highly suspect, partly for metrical reasons (nullus with a short syllable in place of a long elsewhere than at the penthemimeral pause, and procreantur), partly for the awkward and un-Nigellian character of the lines. Most probably we have here to do with early marginal intrusion.

9) 646 lucis AMSBH, lincis EFYR, linxis D, liceris K, lune L, luteris edd. Ultr., Par. If the point is in cursu, then any animal will suffice, and lincis (lynx) is best attested; but if in the anim, then it must be one that cannot run, and we should probably adopt one of Skutsch's conjectures. "Luteris" presumably might stand to "lutra" (otter) as "oestres" (plural of "oester" in some manuscripts) to "oestri"; N. uses "oester" (527, 531) for the more correct "oestrus." 10) I deal here with three other doubtful passages. One is 2696: quod vile despiciunt aYH uileque despiciunt K proiciuntque macrum XB. Nigel occasionally shortens long syllables for convenience, e.g., uirus in 2544, 2609 (both altered in some manuscripts), but I cannot believe he did so here; also the phrase would be extremely weak after spernunt in 2695. Possibly debile spernunt was written by mistake in the pentameter, or debile proiciunt (piciunt), and quod debile became quod uile or the de- became misplaced and joined to -piciunt to make despiciunt. Nigel is likely to have had in mind Ezekiel 24:4, quod debile et infirmum proiecistis. "Leue" suits "crassum" better than "uile," as an opposite term. I read "quod leue proiciunt." 11) 3197: que mala fata frequentant b que mala facta sequantur a. Skutsch conjectured qui mala sepe frequentant, or, coining a word, malefata. Qui is needed by the sense, and so is frequentant, of which sequ- is probably a corruption. I read male sancta (sancta and facta easily confused: cf. 2507). Nigel was probably familiar with the negative use of male (male sancta, unholy).

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